

THE *L'Esprit*
L I F E
O F
S E R V E T U S.

BY
K. Chauffepié
JAQUES GEORGE DE CHAUFFPIÉ.

BEING

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Translated from the FRENCH,
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MDCCLXXI.

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THE

Translator's Preface

THESE are the first of a series of papers on the subject of the

more difficult to be understood than any other

in matters of religion. What is the proper definition of religion?

What bounds and limits are to be put to it?

to be understood and estimated.

How far the civil Magistrate is to



Translator's Preface.

THERE is not perhaps any question in the whole system of human government more difficult to be solved, than that which concerns toleration in matters of religion. What is the proper definition of toleration? What bounds and limits are to be prescribed? Or whether it is to be unbounded and unlimited? How far the civil Magistrate is to interpose his authority in articles of faith? If there are any parti-

cular exceptions to be made in different climates, countries, laws, manners, customs, &c. Or, if it is to be allowed the same extent in every age, and in all communities? These, I say, and many more difficulties that may be suggested, to give them any tolerable answer, will require more penetration, a deeper insight into human nature, and a more perfect acquaintance with the history and connexions of mankind, than many seem to be aware of, who have entered upon, and endeavoured to explain this hard chapter of human government. And it is certain, whatever may be said by way of speculation upon this subject, that hitherto no state, or monarchy, or republick, has ventured on the experiment of an universal toleration, notwithstanding

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standing it has, and no doubt will exercise men of reflection and genius, though there is little hope of believing they will be brought to view it in the same point of light so long as this present world continues in its present state of imperfection.

From what I have said, I shall make these two remarks :

I. That those who have taken upon them to maintain or impugn either side of this question, ought to use their antagonists with more softness and moderation of language, than they generally do. The one, having the countenance, and very often the encouragement of a civil and ecclesiastical establishment upon their side, may unhappily make them too confident

dent in their cause, and too severe in their expressions; while their adversaries accounting themselves possibly an oppressed and suffering party, complain in a style dictated by a sensible feeling of injustice, and tyranny.

II. We are not to imagine that all those who delivered over hereticks to the secular arm, and those who put sentences against them in execution, were men void of all humanity, principle, or conscience, and therefore deserve to be used with more lenity, and good manners, than they frequently meet with from those into whose hands they fall, especially in the present age. There is a very great odds between condemning these bloody and unmerciful laws, which cruelly punished those who

who dissented in the least article from the establishment, and making no kind of allowance for the principles of education; a doctrine universally taught, and believed; the violent spirit of the laws, both civil and religious; and alas, the common practice of the times: When many great, and no doubt otherwise humane men, were dragged in to be the Judges, and spectators of the most shocking sufferings and tortures inflicted upon their fellow-creatures: When under the fatal word heresy, whatever contradicted the doctrine or ceremonies of the church, was a capital crime; and it was equally criminal, and punished with the same severity, the denial of the Pope's infallibility, or, eating a bit of meat in Lent. Instances

no

no doubt may be given, when unhappy men were punished by their unrelenting Judges, from pride, interest, personal revenge, or private views; but still we can't but be persuaded, that many of those who had the sword in their hands, drew it for the suppressing of heresy, from a conviction they were doing their duty to God, and preserving good order and tranquillity in the state.

Few examples of persecution have made more noise, than that of Servetus at Geneva, in the year 1553. Had he not accidentally escaped from prison in Vienne, he would have suffered the same cruel death in a Popish country, which was unhappily reserved for him when he fell into the hands of Protestant Ma-

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Magistrates: Had he been executed in Vienne, he would only have made one of an endless list of victims, which have been made to the cruelty of Popery; but to be sent to the flames for heresy, by those who were but lately delivered from the devouring jaws of an intolerant religion, against which they so keenly and so justly remonstrated, has drawn the attention, and given full scope to the censure of mankind upon it; which in the course of two ages, has been thrown entirely upon Calvin. While the Judges are forgot, or overlooked, the whole load of reproach has fallen upon that famous Divine; how justly, or, how unjustly, must be left to an impartial enquiry into, and a fair construction upon the whole. The learned, candid,
a and

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and laborious author of the *Biographical Dictionary*, in the following article, so far as I know, has furnished better materials, more authentick documents, and a fairer enquiry into the history, trial and untimely end of Servetus, than are to be found any where else.

Truth is the soul of history. An agreeable style, an elegant expression, and lively observations, may give it a gay and splendid figure; but when Truth is set aside, these are not only of no value, but spoil its native beauty, and impose upon the world. As authors ought to be impartial, readers ought to be unbiaſſed likewise: To mention only the case before us, it should be indifferent to either, whether
Calvin

Calvin was a reformed Divine. The Protestant Magistrates of Geneva judge Servetus an heretic, condemned to death for the first time, by the Roman Catholicks, The same sentence passed upon him for the second time, and executed at Geneva, which had revolted from Popery: I say the author, and the reader likewise, ought to take no other share in these articles, except honestly to draw the most natural inferences or conclusions, which are supported by truth, and truth only.

There is some difficulty in turning several phrases of the old French into English; as it is well known what remarkable changes that language has undergone in the space of two hundred

hundred years. However, I have done my best to preserve the meaning of the original in the translation. If any mistake or inaccuracy shall be found, the candid reader will be pleased to forgive a fault unwillingly committed.

THE

with a great deal of industry and
application for the sciences; and

from

After the THE ()

LIFE

OF

SERVETUS.

SERVETUS (Michel) was born
either at Villa Neuva in Ar-
ragon, 1509, or at Tudelle
in the kingdom of Navarre, 1511.

(A) It is alledged that he was born
with

(A) Or at Tudelle in the kingdom of Na-
varre, 1511. Some make Terragone the
place of his birth. Mr. de la Roche (1) and
Mr. d'Alwoerden (2) followed by F. Niceron,
(3) make him born in 1509, at Villa Neuva
in Arragon. They found the date of his birth
upon an answer which he gave 28th August,
1553, "That he was then forty four years old."
But Mr. Abbe d'Artigny, who has extracted
his process from the archives of the Arch-
bishopricks of Vienna in Dauphene, pretends
that he was born at Tudelle in 1511. The

(1) Bibl.
Angl. t.
Nov.
Mem.
I. Hist.
Cant.
2. p. 79.
(2) Hist.
(3) Mem.
d' Hom.
11. p. 224.

(1) Bibl.
(2) Hist.
(3) Mem.
d' Hom.
11. p. 224.

(1) Bibl.
Angl. t.
2. p. 79.
(2) Hist.
M. Servet
Bibl.
Rayen. t.
1. p. 369.
(3) Mem.
d' Hom.
11. p. 224.

B

inter-

with a great deal of ingenuity and inclination for the sciences ; and from

(4) D' Artigny Nov. Mem. d. l' Hist. Critic. t. 2. p. 100. (5) ib. 56, 57. interrogation (4) is as follows ; " After the " oath by him taken upon the Holy Gospel, " to declare the truth, having asked his name, " he told us that his name was Michel of " Ville Neuve, Doctor of Physick, aged forty " two years or thereby, a native of Tudelle " in the kingdom of Navarre." The examination is of the 5th of April, 1553. Some have believed that he was born at Ville Neuva, because he calls himself Michel of Ville Neuve, and because Calvin having reproached him for disguising his name, Servetus excused himself in saying, " that he had taken his name from the city where he was born." Mr. D'Artigny

(5) ib. 56, 57. (5) endeavours to reconcile the contradiction there is between the two declarations of Servetus in the following manner. " We may " probably," says he, " remove this difficulty by " supposing that Servetus' ancestors, originally " from Villa Neuma, had come to settle at Tudella. And indeed" continues he, " we don't " see any reason which could determine Servetus to disguise the name of his country " before the judges of Vienne. This circumstance could be of no use on his trial : but " it was not so, with respect to his true name, " Servetus : as it was his interest for several " reasons, to conceal it, he always called himself in France, Michel of Ville Neuve." I don't know if this reason will be found sufficient ; it appears to me that the same motive which engaged Servetus to disguise his true name,

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from his earliest youth he applied himself incessantly to the most serious studies, wherein he made such a rapid progress, that at fourteen years of age he understood Latin, Greek, Hebrew, and had a pretty extensive knowledge of Philosophy, Mathematicks, and the Scholastick Divinity. (a) (B) Those

who

name, ought naturally to have engaged him likewise to disguise the name of his country, and even his age. We find by the examination he underwent at Vienne, that he carefully distinguished himself from Servetus, and that he was afraid lest he should be taken for Servetus. The surest method to shun being confounded with that man, was to multiply distinctions between the one and the other, in order to shew that they were from different countries, and that the one was younger than the other. But at Geneva, where it was known that Servetus and Michel de Villeneuve was the same person, there was no reason to disguise either his age or his country: add to this, that Servetus had always given himself the title of Ab Aragonia Hispanus, or Villanovanus, at the head of his works, at a time when he did not think he should have any reason to conceal his name or the country where he was born.

(B) Philosophy, Mathematicks, and the Scholastick Divinity.] It is Mr. D'Artigny

B 2

(6) who

(a) D' Artigny
Nouv. Mem. d' Histoire
de Crit. & d' Liter.
t. 2. p. 57.

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who have written his life, pretend
that his father, who was a notary,
sent

- (6) D'Ar- (6) who draws his picture so much to his ad-
tigny vantage; and he adds, That if he had made a
Nov. good use of his talents, there never without
Mem. injustice, would have been refused him a distin-
d' Hist. guished rank amongst the children who are
de Crit. become famous by their studies. Mr. Simon
& de Lit. does not appear to have had so high an opi-
t. 2. p. nion of Servetus's knowledge: "It is evident,"
57. says he (7) "by this author's books, that
(7) Rep. "it cost him a great deal of trouble to write
aux Sen- "in Latin; and what he cites in Greek or
tim de "Hebrew is so very poor, that it cannot be
quelques "inferred that he was a great proficient in
Theolog. "these languages; he was even ashamed
de Hol- "himself of writing such pitiful books upon
lande ch. "the Trinity; he retracts them in the preface
19.p.276. "which is prefixed to his Dialogues concern-
"ing the Trinity: *Quod autem, says he, ita*
"barbarus, confusus, et incorrectus prior liber,
"proderit, imperitiæ meæ et typographi in-
"curiæ adscribendum est." Mr. D'Artigny
(8) ubi himself has cited this same passage, (8) and
supr. adds, That this second work, notwithstanding,
is neither clearer, more methodical, nor better
written than the first: I don't know very well
how to reconcile this with the high compli-
ments made Servetus. Read likewise this passage
of a famous learned man: (9) "Profecto
(9) Shel- "nec miser ille homo, ut ut phrenesi laberasse
born "consensus sit, manuumque potius medi-
Ameen. "carum, quam carnificum indignus fuisse;
Leter. t. "ab omni adeo lepore, ab omni ita penitus
19.P.393. "arte

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sent him to Toulouse to study the Law ; and that it was in this city, that in reading the Holy Scriptures he began to form to himself a new system of Divinity, and took it in his head to reform the Christian Church : but they are mistaken ; for it was neither at Toulouse, nor in Africa, that he became an Antitrinitarian, but in Italy, (C) where he

“ arte destituebatur, ut nisi a paris insanis
“ reo laudari colique non potuerit.”

(C) *Antitrinitarian in Italy.*] Those who make him go to Toulouse, as Mess. Roche and Allwoerden, say, That he read the Bible there for the first time, and this reading convinced him that the Church had great need of a reformation, and that he imagined that the Doctrine of the Trinity was one of these tenets which ought to be rejected. These who make him go to Africa and become an enemy of the Doctrine of the Trinity by the conversation he had with the Mahometans, are no less deceived : The voyage he made to Africa, is, in all probability, a fable : for if he had made such a voyage, he would have intimated something of it in the preface to his Ptolemeus, where he enumerates the different countries he had visited ; but he does not speak of Mauritania except upon the report of another ; and he does not so much as use one expression which can give the most distant suspi-

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he went, after leaving his own country. About fifteen years of age

cion that he ever was in Africa. It is much more natural to suppose that he became an Anti-trinitarian in Italy, where he went upon his leaving Spain, and where Socinianism began to grow. Mr. D'Artigny (10) has very well observed, "Italy," says he, "was then infected with Hereticks, who began to sow there the seeds of Arianism revived, and Socinianism, from whence arose the two Socinus's, uncle and nephew, Gentilis, Aleratus, Gallo, Paruta, Tella, Blandrata, Gonesius, and many others.—Servetus, who was much of the same sentiments with these fanaticks, had frequent conferences with them; he was admired there for the strength of his genius, and the knowledge he had in Scholastick subtilties; as they talked of nothing else at that time, but the pretended reformation of Luther and other innovators; it was concluded in the private meetings of Servetus and the Italians, that the tenet of the Trinity was one of the principal articles which ought to be rejected. Servetus, who was chosen with common consent to strike the first blow, fell to work with his Treatise *De Trinitatis Erroribus*, altho' he was then but eighteen years of age."

This account on the main, appears to me very probable; but yet it deserves some small remarks. I can't conceive that Servetus in going from Spain to Italy, could be as yet of the same sentiments with the founders of the Socinian Doctrine; and suppose he was, from whence

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age he was taken into the service of Charles the Vth's Confessor, called Quintaine, and went into Italy amongst the attendants of this Emperor, whom he saw crowned at Boulogna. He quitted Italy to go to Germany with Charles Vth's Confessor, who died about a year after: (b) and Servetus finding himself without a master, resolved to set up for a Reformer. He went to Basil in 1550, where he conferred with Oecolampadius about his opinions. (D] From Basil he

(b) Vid. l' Interrogatoire de Servet. a Vien. ap. eundem p. 102.

whence arose the necessity of concluding in their secret assemblies, that the tenet of the Trinity was one of the principal articles which must be rejected? I could have wished that Mr. Ab.d'Artigny had cited the author who speaks of these conferences: on the other hand it appears to me for certain, that Servetus went first to Italy, and that the conferences he had with the Anti-trinitarians, had infused into him these principles which he published afterwards.

(D) *He conferred with Oecolampadius about his opinions.*] Mr. Rouchat (11) who places these conferences likewise in the year 1530, is mistaken in supposing them posterior to the impression of Servetus his first work against the

(11) Hist. de Refor. de Suisse t. 3. p. 107, 108.

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he went to Strasburg, to confer likewise with Bucer and Capite,

and

the Trinity, after having said, that Servetus having caused to be printed at Basil, or in the neighbourhood, seven small books entitled

De Trinitatis Erroribus, and after having exposed in few words the doctrine therein contained, Mr. Rouchat adds, "Oecolampadius

opposed the introduction of these heresies with all his might: the magistrate

having appointed him to examine Servetus's

books, he extracted the erroneous and blasphemous propositions contained in them,

and published them at the said magistrate's

desire. He had a conference upon this

subject with Servetus, who in order to

screen himself, acknowledged that Jesus

Christ is the Son of God; but Oecolampadius

made the hearers observe, that Servetus

sought nothing else but to throw dust in

the eyes of his judges by this short confession;

and demanded of Servetus that if

he would be a true christian, he must confess,

That Jesus Christ is the eternal Son of

God, and of the same Essence with his Father.

Servetus complained of this, that Oecolampadius

who was so mild, yet pushed him

so keenly; but Oecolampadius answered,

"I shall be mild in other things, but not so

when such blasphemies are uttered against

Jesus Christ." The truth of the matter is,

that the conferences between Servetus and

Oecolampadius were antecedent to the work

of the first. They treated of the Trinity in

general, and of the Consubstantiality of Jesus

Christ

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and he irritated the first of these Divines, who was a very moderate man,

Christ in particular, which the Spaniard impugned with an obstinacy and bitterness that enraged his adversary. This appears from two letters of Oecolampadius to Servetus. They have found favour however, with Mr. de la Roche; (12) who says, "That Oecolampadius refutes (12) Bibl. 3. p. 85. Servetus in a very civil manner." Mean while the first accuses the other with blasphemy, and blindly following Tertullian, to the prejudice of the Scripture and all the fathers, the beginning of the first letter is as follows. "Johannes Oecolampadius, Serveto Hispano Domini Spiritum precatur: Conquereris me esse tibi molestum et durum; mihi autem major conquerendi causa est. Quasi enim otiosus essem, obtrudis mihi quicquid de Trinitate Sorbena ineptial. Ægre fers quod Athanasium et Nazianzenum, optime meritos Theologos, probem, nec more tuo confutem. Contendis tanto tempore ecclesiam Christi a fundamento fidei suæ amotam. Non pateris ut ad declarationem numinibus novis utamur; quod tamen tibi permittis in fingendis glossis pro tuo arbitrio. Tertulliani major est honor apud te quam totius ecclesiæ. Fingis quasi nos, humano more, de filiatione Dei loquamur, et crude faciamus filium Dei, aboleamusque honorem filii Dei, id quod tu cum summa blasphemia facis, deprehendo enim diabolicas illas versutias: interim dum non summam patientiam præ me fero, dolens Jesum Christum filium Dei sic dehonestari, parum christiani tibi agere videor: in

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man, to such a degree, that he declared from the pulpit, " That
" he

" in aliis mansuetus ero; in blasphemiiis quæ
" in Christum, non item; sed paucis iterum
" agam, et rationem fidei reddam: non ut
" curioso et contentioso satisfaciam, sed ne
" vane perpetuo glorieris: tu negas in una
" persona duas naturas; ego, juxta Johannem,
" dico, *Verbum caro factum est*; &c." There

is a very just reflection made upon this sub-
(13) Bibl. subject, (13) and is of use to set the cha-
Raisin. t. racter of Servetus in its true light: " Ob-
1. p. 370. " serve," say they, " the age of the two dis-
379. " putants: Oecolampadius was then forty-

(14) sup-
posing he
was born
in 1509.

" eight, and Servetus at most in his twenty-
" second year (14); the first upon the verge
" of old age, and a divine loaded with occu-
" pations, did not disdain to yield to the
" desires of a stranger, scarce got out of his
" infancy, who wanted to consult him upon
" one of the most serious articles of religion;
" but this young stranger has the insolence
" to treat this old divine as an ignorant
" scholar, and to teize him both in publick
" and private, and to break out before him
" in the most provoking expressions. The
" presumption of youth, and the Spanish
" vanity sufficiently explain this conduct: To
" this must be added, a sour, cross, chican-
" ning, unmannerly temper, with a very un-
" common degree of pride." We shall find
a new proof of this character of Servetus in
the following letter, where he endeavours
nevertheless to sooth Oecolampadius. It is
without date, but must be posterior to the
impression

“ he deserved to be cut in pieces,
 “ and his bowels torn out of him.”

On

impression of his first work, for which he solicits the divine of Basil, that he would suffer the copies of it to go to France ; there we see how much Oecolampadius had been enraged against him. The letter is as follows: (15)

“ Quantum soleat iratus animus (maxime in
 “ his judicandis, quæ nostræ consuetudini et
 “ rebus quas affectamus repugnant) caligare, <sup>(15) Epist. ab Eccles. Helvet. Reforma-
 tor. vel ad
 col. script.
 cent. No.
 16 Zurich.
 1742.</sup>
 “ optime puto nosti, dum claris oculis de
 “ Luthero et aliis judicare solebas. Ea prop-
 “ ter ne iracundiam super iracundiam tibi
 “ forte adderem, vehementer te adire timui,
 “ etiamsi hoc summe desiderem, et adibo,
 “ modo patiaris, sin autem, abs te hoc unum
 “ precor, ut ne me prohibeas, libros. quos
 “ jam hic habeo paratos, in Galliam mittere,
 “ cum instent nundinæ Lugdunenses ; hoc
 “ enim tibi magis conducit quam cæteris aliis,
 “ qui in orbe sunt inauditis sententiam pro-
 “ ferre : Et si tibi videatur utilius me non hic
 “ permanere, sine dubio recedam, modo ne
 “ putes me esse fugitivum. Deus enim novit
 “ conscientiam meam in omnibus quæ scripsi
 “ fuisse sanam, etiamsi tu forte propter cruda
 “ mea verba oppositum arbitraberis ; sed tibi
 “ causas, si libenter audias, exponam, nec Lu-
 “ theranorum nomine te ita graviter offen-
 “ dendum putavi, præcipue cum ex ore tuo
 “ audierim, Lutherum crude nimis charitatem
 “ tractare, solum enim se ea facere dicit ne
 “ sit otiosus ; et nullam omnino Deum chari-
 “ tatis habere considerationem affirmat Me-
 “ lanchton. Crede mihi, intolerabilia sunt
 “ ista

On leaving Basil, he left a manuscript with a bookseller called
Conrad

“ ista quam ea, quæ ego dico, et major hic
 “ animarum pernicies, præcipue cum inter
 “ vos de fide vestra non constet: aliter enim
 “ propriis auribus a te declarari audiui, et
 “ aliter a Domino Paulo, et aliter a Luthero,
 “ et aliter a Melanchtone; teque in domo tua
 “ monui, sed audire noluisti. Regula tua de
 “ probandis spiritibus te forte decepit; nam
 “ si in tuo spiritu sit aliqua formido, aut
 “ tenebræ, aut confusio pars, non poteris
 “ de meo clare judicare, eo magis, quia
 “ etiam si in uno errantem noveris, non prop-
 “ terea debuisses in cæteris damnare: nam
 “ secundum hoc nemo est mortalium, qui non
 “ esset millies comburendus; ex parte enim
 “ omnes cognoscimus, et maximi Apostolo-
 “ rum fuerunt aliquando in errore, nec Lu-
 “ therum in cæteris damnas, etiam si eum
 “ errare optimè videas; et ego a te doceri
 “ petebam, quod tamen non fecisti, sed me
 “ prodisti. Conditionis humanæ ea est infir-
 “ mitas, ut, nostris exceptis, cæterorum spiritus
 “ judicemus impostores et impios, nam errata
 “ sua nullus intelligit. Secundo, te per Deum
 “ oro ut nomini meo et famæ parcas, noli de
 “ aliis, qui præsentem quæstionem non con-
 “ cernunt movere tumultum, dicis me velle,
 “ quod omnes sint latrones, et quod nullus sit
 “ puniendus aut interficiendus: testem invoco
 “ omnipotentem Deum, quod non sim in hac
 “ sententia, immo eam omnino detestor; sed
 “ si quid aliquando dixi, est quia grave mihi
 “ videbatur interfici homines, eo quod in
 quæstione

Conrad Rous. In this performance he attacked the Doctrine of the Trinity: the bookseller not daring in all probability to print it, sent it to Hagenau, where Servetus went himself in order to hasten the publishing of it, and the work appeared in 1531. The year following he published a second upon the same subject. (E)

Servetus,

“ quæstione aliqua circa intellectum scripturæ
 “ sint in errore, cum sciamus inducendos fere
 “ in errorem etiam electos: Satis nosti me
 “ causam meam non ita irrationabiliter tractare,
 “ ut sim eo modo rejiciendus. Tibi
 “ non magnum visum est, quod angelum
 “ intellexeris Spiritum Sanctum, et mihi erit
 “ magnum facinus quod hominem dicam esse
 “ filium Dei. Vale.

“ Michael Servetus.”

The most rational part of this letter is that which Servetus says about toleration. He was in the right to believe the people ought not to be massacred because they are in an error: It seems he began even at this time to be afraid of what befel him afterwards; but his self-conceit and presumption prevented his following the rules of prudence.

(E) *Published a second upon the same subject.*]
 As these two performances are found joined together in some copies which are still extant,

I shall

Servetus, bold and daring, imagined he had a right to write
against

I shall likewise join them together under one note; The title of the first is, *De Trinitatis Erroribus Libri Septem*, per Michaellem Servetum, alias Reves, ab Arragonia Hispanum. An. MDXXXI. It contains 119 leaves in

(16) Bibl. 8vo. (16) The place of impression is not
Angl. t. 2. marked, but it is known that it was in Ha-
p. 80. genau. Mr. Shelborn firmly believes (17)
I have myself that it was printed in this city, by John Secer
a copy of a famous bookseller; this is what he concludes
it by me. from the types, which are he says, the very
(17) Am- same with which Secer in the month of Sep-
enet. Li- tember 1530, had printed the Scholia of
ter. t. 2. John Agricola, upon the Epistle of St. Paul
p. 108. to Titus, and with which he had printed in
1531, in 8vo. the Commentaries of Brentius
upon Job. Notwithstanding this work is very
scarce, I can draw from different authors,
that there are still several copies extant. Mr.
de la Roche says, (18) That he has had two

(18) Bibl. in his hands, but as he does not say where,
Angl. ubi I don't know whether these two copies are to
supr. be reckoned amongst the number of these
mentioned by other writers. Mr. Simon says,

(19) Bibl. that there are two to be found in Paris, (19)
Critic. t. one in the King's library, which is incomplete,
1. p. 32. and the other in Mr. Colbert's library, which
is entire. Mr. Shelborn assures us, that he

(20) A- has seen two, (20) one at Altorff when he
meen. was a student there, in Mr. Gustavus George
Lit. t. 2. Zeltner's library, and the other in the publick
p. 309, library at Ulm; he says likewise, that there
310. was one in the library of Prince Eugene of
Savoy,

against the Doctrine of the Trinity, with as much freedom, as the

Savoy, and another in that of the Landgrave of Cassel; that Mr. John William Paterson was in possession of one, and that the authors of a periodical work at Berlin had the use of two; Mr. Wolf of Hamburg informed Mr. de la Croze in the month of September, 1720,

(21) that he had copied Servetus's book with his own hand, about two years ago; and upon the same occasion he speaks of a printed copy, to be found in the publick library at Lubeck. (21) Thes. Epist. la. Croze t. 2. p. 159.

Mr. Mosheim (22) had received a copy from a Polish gentleman, and likewise one of the dialogues; mean while all these gathered together, amount to no more than about a dozen of copies, which is not very considerable, including even that copy which Grotius says he had seen at Rotterdam. The reason of this scarcity is, the great pains taken to suppress this work, and that a great number of copies were burnt at Francfort and other places, which I learn from an historian of Servetus, cited by Mr. Shelborn. (22) ib. t. 1. p. 266. (23) Pet. Ad. Boy- sen. Hist. M. Servet. 56. ap. Shelborn ubi supra.

(23) " Simul

" ac publice conspiceretur liber, quasi com-
 " muni incendio restinguendo accurrebant viri
 " pii cordatique, infelicem lascivientis ingenii
 " foetum suppressuri, imprimis Francofordenses
 " plurima libri exempla flammis tradiderunt,
 " cumque Ratisbonam quædam allata fuissent,
 " et Jo. Quintadæ, Cæsari Carolo. V. a con-
 " siliis ecclesiasticis, et confessionibus privatis
 " qui erat, visa, indignabatur initio auctori,
 " quem a facie sibi notum ajebat, et quotquot
 " nancisci poterat, exempla sollicitè abolenda

" curabat,

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the reformers wrote against Transubstantiation, and other tenets

peculiar

“curabat, teste Cochlaeo—cum itaque undique
“supprimeretur liber, contigit ut varius re-
“periatur, et instructissime extera Biblio-
“thecæ illo destituantur.” Mr. Wolf is the

only person who appears to have found any
genius or learning in this book, while he de-
tests his opinions. “Miratus sum,” says he,

(24) The. (24) “hominis ingenium et doctrinam inter
Epist. Ia. “medias detestationes pestilentissimarum erro-
Croze. t. “rum in quibus animo, ni fallor, non malo
21 p. 159. “hæsit.” Mr. Moshiem judges the stile both

of this and the dialogues to be barbarous;
(25) ib. t. (25) “barbaro dicendi genere conscripti.”

1. p. 268. Mr. Simon speaks of it with a great deal of
(26) Bibl. contempt. (26) “There is so little good

Crit. ubi “sense in all this impious work,—that if it
supr. p. “was common, both the work and the au-

32, 33. “thor would be held in the greatest detesta-
“tion. He is so much at a loss both as to
“the diction and the matters he treats of,
“that it is evident he did not understand
“them, as appears from the words he begins
“with.” Oecolampadius wrote to Bucer

concerning these two works in the following
words; (27) “Invisi hac hebdomada Bernates,

(27) vid. Bibl Ang. “qui te et Capitonem salutant plurimum;
t. 2, p. 88. “libellus *De Trinitatis erroribus* a quibus-

“dam ex illis visus duxit, supra modum
“offendit. Vellem te scribere Luthero, quod
“nobis insciis liber alibi excusus sit, impu-
“dentia enim erat adscribere Lutheranis, justi-
“ficationis rationem eos ignorare; ut de
“reliquis taceam. Sed Photenianus ille vel

“nescio

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17

peculiar to the Church of Rome,
Servetus must have remained at
Straf-

“ nescio cujus sectæ homo solum sapere sibi
“ videtur. Nisi ab ecclesiæ nostræ doctoribus
“ explodetur, pessime auditura est. Tu, præ
“ aliis pro vigiles, et si non alibi, certe in con-
“ futatione tua ad imperatorem ecclesias nos-
“ tras excusa, utcunque hac bestia irrepsit.
“ abutitur omnibus in suum sensum, tantumne
“ confiteatur, filium coeternum patri et con-
“ substantialem, atqui hic est qui suscepit pro-
“ bandum hominem Christum esse filium Dei.”

This letter is dated August 5, 1531. Ser-
vetus impugns in this work the doctrine of the
Trinity in a very shocking manner: he calls
the Three Persons, a pure imagination, a chi-
mera, metaphysical Gods. (28) See what Mr. (28) ib.
de la Roche says of his doctrine. (29) “ He ibid.
“ undertakes to shew that the terms, Jesus (29) ib. p.
“ and Christ, and the Son of God, design 81.
“ nothing but a man, and he endeavours to
“ prove it by a great many passages of the
“ Holy Scripture: he explains a great many
“ other passages agreeable to his own system,
“ and answers the objections of the orthodox;
“ this part of his book is easily understood;
“ but when he explains his opinions about the
“ person of Jesus Christ, what he says, ap-
“ pears unintelligible. I shall give only one
“ instance: *Erat Christus*, says he, (30) (30) Ser-
“ *in mente Divina præformatus, erat quidam* vet. de
“ *modus se habendi, quem in se ipso Deus* Trin.
“ *disposuit ut se ipsum nobis patefaceret, sci-* error. T.
“ *licet Jesu Christi effigiem in se ipso descri-* VII. fol.
“ *bendo.*” Servetus calls this representation 120 verso.
apud eun.

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Straßburg or in some other part of Germany till the year 1531; but
 not seeing

the Face of God, and the word which has been made Flesh; he denies the Trinity, but the idea he had of Jesus Christ was very different from that which the Unitarians have in our days. Sandius pretends that he had almost the same sentiments as Paulus Samosatenus: "fuit Servetus ejusdem fere opinionis quam

(31) Bibl. "olim Paulus Samosatenus." (31) But Mr. Antitrin. Simon has observed that, on the contrary, (32)

P. 9. Servetus declares that he is very far from the (32) Rep. sentiments of Paulus Samosatenus, whom he aux senti. accuses as very ignorant of the mysteries of des Theol. religion, because he had no knowledge of the de Hol- lande.

226, 227. Hebrew language. "Paulus de Samosata,"

(33) De says Servetus, (33) "ante Arianos philoso- Trin. er-

ror. Lib. "quæ in Hebraicis latent, penitus ignarus, 7. fol. iii.

apud eun. "simplicem hominem, non Deum, qui nunc

"primum et non antea fuerit, Christum asse-

"rendo, philosophos Græcos Hebraice etiam

"ignaros et Aristotelica contagione infectos

"scandalizavit, eosque in cælum sine aliis

"ascendere coegit, ubi divinitates venari

"quilibet suo sensu cœpit." It is evident

from this passage that he acknowledged some

kind of I don't know what divinity in Jesus

Christ; and this is what we may see from two

other places cited by Mr. Simon. (34) "Ali-

(34) idem fol. 112. "qua divinitatis ejus præconia recolam,

apud eun. "quorum radix est, ut eum fuisse *Elohim*

"memoria teneas, ex quo profunditatem

"arcani quomodo ab initio erat apud patrem

"in oraculo contemplabis, et qualiter ipse

"nunc

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39

seeing that the principal reformed Churches held his doctrine in detestation,

"nunc est in patri realiter sicut antea erat in ipso personaliter:" and a little below:
 "Aliud Divinitatis præconium quod hæc omnia superat est pater in eo manens, qui per ipsam solum videtur ipse est paterna facies, nec est alia Dei persona nisi Christus."

Mr. de la Roche therefore had reason to say,

(35) That since Servetus rejected the doctrine of the Trinity, he ought not to have substituted an opinion so obscure and so little intel-

(35) Bibl. Angl. t. 2. p. 82,

ligible in its place; Grotius owns that he had not read the writings of Servetus exactly enough to know all his tenets; but he plainly acknowledges however, that his sentiments were different from those of Socinus and his followers. (36) "Serveti dogmata fateor non

(36) Vot. pro pace eccl. ap. Bibl. crit. t. 1. p. 33, 36.

"omnia mihi esse nota, et ea quæ novi neque cum Socino, neque cum ejus discipulis congruunt." Mr. Simon has made a remark upon this occasion that ought not to be forgotten, which is, that Grotius is in the wrong to insinuate that Calvin had imputed things to Servetus which he never said, because he did not find in the copy which he had in his hands, that which Calvin had objected against him. "Serveti libri non Genevæ tantum,

"sed et aliis in locis per Calvini diligentiam exusti sunt. fateor enim me dum vixi exemplum vidisse Latine in quo certe ea non reperi, quæ ei objicit Calvinus."

"This learned critick," says Mr. Simon, "probably did not know that there is a very great difference between the work of Ser-

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testation, that he could find no partizan, and that he had no resource

“vetus against the Trinity printed in 1531, and that which was printed in 1533.” This is so true, that Mr. Mosheim says (37) that it is not in the two works published by Servetus in 1531 and 1532 where we are to search for his real sentiments, but in the latest published by him in 1553. “At enim vero cum iterum

(37) Thef. Ep. la Croze t. 1. p. 268.

“postea sententiam mutaverit homo præceptæ hypotheseos præjudicio plane excæcatus, ex solo ejus quem *Restitutionem Christianismi* inscripsit, libro mens ejus vera, maximaque historiæ pars percipi poterit, ultima scilicet ejus scripta.” I shall add, that Calvin is unjustly accused of having caused the copies of Servetus’s first work to be burned, the contrary of which is proved, citation (23.) This book was printed not only at Hagenau, but likewise at Francfort.

(38.) Bibl. Angl. t. 2. p. 12. Shelborn. Amæn. Liter. t. 3. p. 108. (38) In 1532 Servetus caused to be printed at Hagenau, another treatise against the Trinity, with this title, “Dialogorum de Trinitate Libri duo. De Justitia Regni Christi, Capitula Quatuor, per Michaellem Serveto, alias Reves, ab Arragonia Hispanum, MDXXXII.” This work contains only six leaves in 8vo. Mr. de la Roche says, he had seen three copies of it, two at Geneva,

(39) ubi supr. p. 85.

and one in Holland. (39) In an advertisement he retracts all he had said in his former work, as has been said in the note (B), not that he believed that what he had said against the doctrine of the Trinity was false, but because the work was imperfect and only in its infancy.

source in a country where he was a stranger to the language, he resolved to go to France; he wanted to perfect himself in the Mathematics, and above all to apply himself to Medicine, for which he had always a strong inclination. His historians make him go from Strasburg to Lyons, where they make him stay two years; but the loose way in which they explain themselves,

fancy. The curious will not be displeased to find the advertisement here. (40) "Lectori (40) F. salutem. Quæ contra receptam de Trinitate Nicéron
"sententiam septem libri scripsi, omnia nunc, furnishes
"candide lector, retracto. Non quia falsa me with
"sunt, sed quia imperfecta; et tanquam a this in his
"parvulo parvulus scripta. Precor tamen ut Mem. des
"ex illis ea teneas, quæ ad dicendorum in- hom. ill.
"telligentiam te poterint juvare. Quod t. 11. p.
"autem ita barbarus, confusus et incorrectus 235, 236.
"prior liber prodierit, imperitiæ meæ et typo-
"graphi incuriæ adscribendum est. Nec vel-
"lem quod propterea christianus aliquis offen-
"deretur, cum soleat aliquando Deus per
"stulta mundi organa suam sapientiam pro-
"ferre. Observa igitur, obsecro, rem ipsam,
"nam si mentem advertes, non te impedient
"impedita mea verba. Vale." We have ob-
served that these who have seen this second
work, agree that it is neither better, more
distinctly,

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(e) ubi
supr. p.
62, 63.

selves, is a proof that they have advanced this fact purely on conjecture. Mr. d'Artigny (e) from the answers of Servetus himself to his judges at Vienne, and some other places, relates, that he went to Paris, where he studied medicine under the famous professors Sylvinus and Fernel, and was received Master of Arts and Doctor of Medicine in this university; without all doubt he did not neglect

distinctly, nor more methodically written than the first. [Since I have written this remark, there has been communicated to me these two first works of Servetus in MSS. bound in one volume. I don't find any thing in them which obliges me to alter what I have said here: I have confirmed the passages I have cited from other authors and found them exact; I have likewise had in my hand a printed copy of the first work.] The titles of the four chapters of the treatise "De Justitia Regni Christi," are, "I. De Justificatione. II. De Regno Christi. III. Collatio Legis et Evangelii. IV. De Charitate." In 1533 Melancthon wrote a letter to Camerarius, wherein he gives his opinion about Servetus and his works. He owns that Servetus is a man subtle enough in dispute, but that he has no kind of decency, that he has confused ideas, and that he

glect to dogmatise, since it appears that Calvin opposed his doctrine being then in 1534 at Paris: they were even to have had a conference together, the day and hour were fixed, but Servetus did not keep the appointment. (f) Servetus after having taken the Doctor's cap, went and professed Mathematics in the Lombard Colledge: it was probably at this time that he was employed in making a new edition

(f) Beza
Hist. des
Eccl. Ref.
de Franc.
t. 1. p. 19.

he does not meditate enough upon the matters he treats of, and that his idea of justification is altogether extravagant. "De Serveto

"rogas quid sentiam. ego vero video satis

"acutum ac vaftrum esse in disputando, sed

"plane gravitatem ei non tribuo. et habet,

"ut mihi videtur, confusas imaginationes,

"non satis explicatas earum rerum quas agit

"cogitationes; de Justificatione manifeste

"delirat." (41) Servetus did not neglect to

send his books into Italy, where they were

spread in so many places, that Melancthon

thought himself obliged to write a letter in

1539, to the senate of Venice, by which he

begs of them to take proper measures to pre-

serve their dominions from the detestable

errors of Servetus. If Servetus, as it is pro-

bable, had got his Anti-trinitarian ideas in

Italy, I don't see any reason to think it pro-

bable,

(41) Me
Epist. 1. 4.
ep. 140.
edit. Lon.
ap. Bibl.
Angl. t. 2.
p. 88.

edition of Ptolemy's Geography, to that published by Pirckheymer in folio, at Strasburg in 1525; as he could not agree upon terms advantageous enough with the book-sellers in Paris, he made a better bargain with a printer at Lyons, and his Ptolemy appeared in 1535, in one volume in folio. (F) In 1536,

(42) Bibl. bable, as Mr. de la Roche believes, (42) that
 Angl. loc. Lælius Socinus, uncle to Faustus, and some
 cit. p. 91. other Italians, began to oppose the Doctrine of the Trinity, after having read Servetus's book; it is more likely that he had taken the hint of attacking this article by conversing with them, and being vain and presumptuous, he wanted to do it in another manner than they.

(F) *His Ptolemy appeared in one volume in folio.* Mr. de Marzeaux who had in his hands the edition of 1525, and that of Ser-

(43) Bibl. vetus, has given us an account of them; (43)
 Rais. t. that of Pirckeymer is intituled, "Claudii
 3- p. 1. "Ptolemæi Geographiæ enarrationis libri
 Ar. 13. "octo, Bilibaldo Pirckeymero Interprete,
 "annotationes Johannis de Regio Monte in
 "errores commissas a Jacobo Angelo, in
 "Translatione sua Argentorati, 1525." Pirckeymer dedicates his translation to the bishop of Brescia, after Ptolemy there is found fifty geographical maps with a description of the countries, printed upon the back of them:
 but

1536, he had a keen dispute with the physicians of Paris, which having

but Pirckheymer, in a short advertisement which is at the end of the remarks of Johannes de Regio Monte, declares, that he had no hand in them, and that the booksellers had made this addition to make their wares sell the better. "Sane," says he, "nec hoc prætereundum, nihil a nobis præter Ptolemæi scripta ac Johannis de Regio Monte adnotationes editum esse, cætera vero ab aliis utcumque addita, quo librarii merces suas facilius ex- trudere possent". It was upon this edition that Servetus worked: he has made some very important corrections in Pirckheymer's translation with the assistance of ancient MSS. He has not reviewed the descriptions which accompany the geographical maps with the same care; he has left them as they were, except a few, which he has corrected, or which he has even suppressed, that he might give new ones, such as the descriptions of France, Germany, Spain, America; he has caused the description of Spain to be printed in an Italick character, from a particular love to his country, but he has not in the least meddled with the description of Judea; he has given it word for word as it was printed in the edition of Strasburg. This edition of Servetus is intituled, *Claudii Ptolemæi Alexandrini Geographicæ Enarrationis Libri octo, ex Bibli- baldi Pierckeymeri tralatione, sed ad Græcæ & prisca Exemplaria a Michaele Villanovano, jam primum recogniti. Adjecta insuper ab eodem Scholia, quibus exoleta Urbium Nomina ad nostri seculi*

having obliged him to cause his apology to be printed against them,

quibusque veterum et recentiorum tabulae adnectuntur, varique incolentium ritus & mores explicantur. Lugduni, ex Officina Melchioris & Gasparis Trechsel Fratrum, MDXXXV. I have

had in my hands a very beautiful copy of this edition. Servetus gave a second edition of his Ptolemy in 1541, and dedicated it to Peter Palmer, Archbishop of Vienne, to whom he had formerly explained this work, and who honoured him with his protection. It was printed at Vienne by Gaspard Trechsel, at the expence of Hugh de la Porte, bookseller at Lyons. This second edition, says Mr. des

(44) *ibid.* Maizeaux (44), is as it were buried in oblivion. The first is only mentioned in the

Ptolemy of Mercator of 1605, and in the *Theatrum Geographiæ veteris* of Bertius, printed in 1618. Mr. Fabricius, says Mr. des Maizeaux, does not mention either the first, or the second in his *Bibliotheca Græca*: this F. Nicéron has faithfully repeated, without giving himself the trouble to examine the matter. Mr. des Maizeaux is deceived; Fabricius does speak of the first edition given by Ser-

(45) *Bibl. Græc. v.* (45) "Sub Michaelis Villanovani nomine, qui Ptolemæi Geographiam, Ann. 3. P. 415. "1535, cum Notis edidit, latet Servetus qui

"Villanovæ in Arragonia, An. 1509, natus est." The second edition has been unknown likewise to Mr. de la Roche, and Mr. Alwoerden, who have written the Life of Servetus: my author is positive, that it is more exact

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it was turned into a very considerable process before the parliament, and was terminated by the suppression of this apology, which is no more to be found; but the physicians were ordered to live upon better

exact and correct by far than the first. There is one alteration which has appeared remarkable to Mr. des Maizeaux, in the description of France, Servetus had said in the first edition, speaking of the gift of the King of France of curing the King's Evil, by touching the patients, *Vidi ipse Regem plurimos hoc languore correptos tangentem, an sanati fuerint non vidi*; but in the second, in place of *an sanati fuerint non vidi*, he puts, *pluresque sanatos passim audiui*: this place has probably been corrected, and there must have been something likewise which had been found censurable in the description of Judea, since there is no such thing in this edition. Mr. d'Artigny says (46) that this is a very splendid edition, and at the same time so uncommonly scarce, that the only catalogue where he had found it was that of Cardinal de Bois's library, which had been sold publicly at the Hague. A passage of the description of Judea, which is found in the first edition, made one of the heads of accusation against Servetus at Geneva; that which passed on this occasion furnished matter for a great many declamations against Calvin. Let us see how this affair is managed. Let us first give the words as they stand, being a

(46) Nov. Mem. de Hist. de Critic. t. 3. p. 65.

(g) d'Ar-
tigny, loc.
cit. p. 62,
63.

better terms with Servetus, and to

use him with humanity. [g] He

caused to be printed at Paris,

“ Syruporum universa ratio ad

“ Galeni censuram diligenter ex-

“ posita; cui, post integram de

“ con-

part of the introduction to the xlii chart, which

(47) Mr.
de la Cha-
pelle is
deceived
in saying
that this
is the xii.
chart.
Bibl.
Raison. t.
p. 120.

is that of the Holy Land. (47) “ Hanc ter-

“ ram Biblici Libri et Josephus eos secutus,

“ Canaeani appellant, terram variarum

“ opum divitem, frugibus fertilem, aquis

“ illustrem, optimam balsamo, in medio orbis

“ constitam; quo fit ut nec frigore nimis

“ rigeat, nec calore correatur, ob quam

“ elementorum gratiam, æstimaverunt Isra-

“ helitæ sive Hebræi eam quæ patribus

“ olim Abrahamæ, Isaac et Jacob promissa,

“ a Numine esset, terram videlicet lacte et

“ melle fluentem. Ideo Josuæ fortissimi

“ ducis ductu, quadagesimo anno postquam

“ Ægypto existent, suæ ditionis fecerunt—

“ Scias tamen, lector optime, injuria aut jac-

“ tantia pura, tantam hunc terræ bonitatem

“ fuisse adscriptam, eo quod ipsa experientia,

“ mercatorum et peregre profitentium, hanc

“ incultum, sterilem, omni dulcedine caren-

“ tem depromit. Quare promissam terram,

“ pollicitam, et non vernacula lingua lau-

“ dantem pronuncies.” That is, according to

Mr. de la Chapelle's translation; “ The

“ books of the Bible, and Josephus, who

“ has followed them, call this land Canaan,

“ and say, that it abounds in various riches,

“ fertile

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“ concoctione descriptionem, præ-
 “ scripta est vera purgandi me-
 “ thodus, cum expositione aphorif-
 “ mi, concocta medicari, Michaelē
 “ Villa Novano authore, in 8vo.
 “ 1537, Venice 1545, & Ly-
 ons.”

“ fertile in fruits, well watered, full of balm,
 “ and situated in the middle of the world,
 “ that which makes it neither incommoded by
 “ too great cold, nor burnt up by heats: on
 “ account of a climate so happy, the Israelites,
 “ formerly called the Hebrews, believed that
 “ this was the country flowing with milk and
 “ honey, which God had formerly promised
 “ to their fathers, Abraham, Isaac, and
 “ Jacob; for this reason, forty years after
 “ their departure from Egypt, they took
 “ possession of it under the conduct of the
 “ valiant general, Joshua. Know, however,
 “ friendly reader, that this is either a mistake,
 “ or pure ostentation, that they have ascribed
 “ so much goodness to this country; for the
 “ experience of merchants and travellers have
 “ discovered it to be uncultivated, barren,
 “ and destitute of every thing agreeable.” I
 have not translated the last words, adds Mr. (48) A-
 de la Chapelle, because I don't understand ^{mean.}
 them; probably he did not understand High ^{Lit. t. 19.}
 Dutch, and it is by this language, that we are ^{P. 395,}
 to explain these words. Mr. Shelborn has ^{396.}
 discovered the mystery of them. (48) The
 land of Canaan is called in common style,
 in German, *das gelobte land*, which may signify
 two

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ons." He published likewise, *Apo-
logetica Dissertatio pro Artologia*,
and a defence of Symphorein Cham-
pier, doctor at Lyons, entituled, *In
Leonartium Fussinum Apologia pro
Symphorio Campegio*. [I don't
know

two things, in deriving the word *gelobte* from the
verb *loben*, to praise; it will signify the praised
land, or land worthy of praise; but if the
word *gelobte* is derived from the verb *geloben*, to
promise, it will signify the promised land: so
the author of the advertisement would say,
that this land may be called the promised
land, but not the land worthy of praises;
this allusion to the original word in German,
has made Mr. Shelborn suspect what was true:
he conjectures, that Servetus had spoke the
truth in denying these words to be his, there
being no probability that a Spaniard would
call the German his vulgar tongue, or that he
understood the language sufficiently to make
such an allusion. We shall see afterwards that
this conjecture was well founded, this passage
having been objected to Servetus, he answered,
what we are going to see from Calvin's own
account of it; (49) " They brought forth
" the book of Ptolemy with a preface, where
" the said Servetus had boasted to have been
" the corrector, and to have made some role-
" rable good advertisements, but when they
" came to the land of Judea, he advertised
" the readers, that this was wrong, or out
" of ostentation, that they had made it so
" valuable,

(49) Dé-
claration
pour
maintenir
la vraye
foi, &c.
Genev.
1559. in
8vo. & in
Opusc.
de Calv.
vid. p. 50.
of the
French
and the
Opusc.
in Lat. p.
m. 522.

know how to reconcile the examination of Servetus upon this apology, with what we read in the advice to the reader, at the head of his Treatise *De Syrupis*. I shall make use of the edition of Venice in

“ valuable, so good and fertile, because the
“ experience of merchants had discovered
“ that it was dry, barren, and unprovided
“ with every commodity. True it is, that in
“ the beginning, he muttered between his
“ teeth, that it was not his, but I knew how
“ to close his mouth easily, for by this means
“ he was convicted of being an audacious
“ man, in ascribing to himself what was not
“ his own; he was therefore forced to maintain
“ such a blasphemy, saying, that there
“ was nothing but good in it. Then they
“ asked him, who it was that had so described
“ the goodness of the land of Judea? if it
“ was not Moses? but see, says he, if others
“ have written so favourably of it? to this I
“ replied as the case required, how that others
“ agreed with Moses, for so it was, considering
“ that he is most ancient of all, and that
“ they follow his testimony; wherefore the
“ principal fault lay in him, who by his
“ boasting had deceived those who come after
“ him. For who is it who has said, that this
“ land is so fat and plentiful, and that it flows
“ with milk and honey? We may not certainly
“ without a great affront to the Holy
“ Spirit who has spoken by the mouth of
“ Moses,

in 1545, " Illud obiter monen-
 " dum est, lector, me non esse
 " illum quem corrupta quædam
 " Furchsium Apologia depingit
 " Campegius, studiosum Arabum
 " sectatorem et digestivorum Syru-
 " porum

" Moses, cancel such a commendation! I
 " added, besides that he had judged like a
 " blockhead and a beast, to esteem the land
 " of Judea as they see it now.—That which
 " I said may be thought incredible, was it
 " not that our magnificent lords, with many
 " other persons of worth and distinction,
 " were witnesses sufficient; but this villainous
 " dog was so far from being confounded by
 " these solid arguments, that he only wiped
 " his mouth, saying, Let us pass over this,
 " there is no harm in it: and how that he
 " had no kind of colour to paint his villainy,
 " so as he did, and they could not draw one
 " word of confession from him." It being thus
 " proved that this passage was really not Serve-
 " tus's, but the author's who had lent his pen
 " to the printers at Strasburg, we may examine
 " two questions: 1st. Why Servetus kept to a
 " simple denial, having the means in his hands
 " of proving that he was not to be blamed?
 " 2d. Has Calvin deserved the bitter reproaches
 " which some writers have thrown upon him on
 " this occasion?

1. As to the first question, Mr. Maizeaux
 " appears to me to have hit this point in a great
 " measure.

“porum Compegianum Defen-
 “forum; cum ego Arabas ipsos
 “cum Compegio negligendos
 “potius crediderim.”] These two
 last works, as likewise the apo-
 logy against the physicians of Paris,
 have

measure. (50) He believes that there are cer-^{(50) Bibl.}
 tain situations wherein a man who is in ^{Raison.}
 danger of forfeiting his life, will not, either ^{t. 3. P.}
 from a mis-placed pride, or an affected con- ^{176, 180.}
 tempt of death, condescend to use proper
 means in his own justification; and, he af-
 firms, that this was the case of Servetus, in
 the whole of this affair: he gave himself up
 too much to his resentment, and took upon
 him an air of pride and disdain, which exas-
 perated his enemies; add to this, that his
 pride no doubt was touched by the reproach
 Calvin made him, that if this was none of
 his, he was an impostor, by taking to himself
 the honour of another's work; rather than
 own it, he chose to adopt this impious ex-
 pression, and impudently to maintain it, which
 came to the same thing as if he had been the
 author of it himself. Mr. Shelborn makes
 this reflection upon it: (51) “Quis autem ^{(51) Am-}
 “non rideat novum hunc ex medentium ^{enet. Li-}
 “schola Atlantem, terrarum orbem, suis in- ^{ter. t. 193}
 “scribi passim humeris, cum peregrini eum
 “sustinerent? aut quis non stolidam mon-
 “strofi capitis indignetur pertinaciam, qui
 “alienas quoque calumnias in criminum su-
 “orum rationes referri delectatus est?”

D

2. Has

have not been known to the historians of Servetus, (h) the chagrine which this process gave Servetus, and the misunderstanding with his brethren of profession, made his living at Paris disagreeable to him.

He

2. Has Calvin deserved the bitter reproaches which some writers have thrown upon him on this occasion? Mr. de la Roche contents himself with blaming Calvin indirectly, "I dare say," says he, in speaking of Servetus, (52) Bibl. (52) "that he never intended to make any reflection to the prejudice of Moses. I believe by the words, *vanus præco Judæus*, "he wanted to point out some modern traveller, who had published an account of the Holy Land, and who had spoken of it as a very fertile country. Servetus was neither Atheist nor Deist; it appears by his writings, that he was firmly persuaded of the truth of the Old Testament, and therefore I can't imagine that the words in question relate to Moses." Mr. de la Roche must have read Calvin very negligently to reason in this manner; these words, *vanus præco Judæus*, are not Servetus's, they are the terms in which the question was made him; his answer proves that he was not thinking on any traveller in particular, since he says in general, that others, as well as Moses, have written of it, and that it was nothing else, but the author of the advertisement undoubtedly meant Moses: to be con-

He went to Lyons, where he staid some time with the Frelon book-sellers as corrector of the press; he made a journey to Avignon, returned to Lyons, and at last went and settled at Charlieu, where

convinced of which, it is sufficient to read the passage over again, and Servetus, although he had not himself written this impious sentence, yet he adopts it as his own; but behold, a heavier accusation against Calvin: F. Nicéron, after having given the relation of this divine, but suppressing the reasoning (53) in it, adds (53) "Calvin had done well to
 " have passed by this article in silence, which
 " gives us no great opinion of his sincerity,
 " and his regard for truth, and of his capacity in the art of reasoning." We shall see immediately, that if we substitute the name of Nicéron, in place of Calvin, this reflection will be perfectly just: but we must first hear Mr. l'Abbe d'Artigny, (54) whose memory
 has been a little slippery on this occasion too;
 " As the accusers of Servetus had sworn his
 " ruin; they made no scruple of forging
 " imaginary crimes against him, and his
 " answers, however good they were, were
 " turned into proofs against him." After this, the passage of the edition of Ptolemy is exhibited, inserted in the edition of 1525, and curtailed in the edition of 1541. "It was there-
 " fore very easy for him," continues Mr. d'Artigny, "to justify himself, in saying, that he

Mem. d'
Hom. ill.
t. 11. p.
241.

(54) Nou.
d' Hist.
de Crit.
t. 2. p.
129.

(i) Ibid.
p. 64.

where he practised medicine for three years, (i) but for some blunder he committed, he was obliged to leave that place; Bolsec, the only person who speaks of it, does not say what it was, but the passage

“ was not the author of this passage, and
 “ that afterwards he had suppressed it; he
 “ says as much in effect, and adds, to evite all
 “ chicane, that he was not at all speaking of
 “ Moses, but of the modern geographers:
 “ the ill-nature and disingenuity of his
 “ enemies turn these means of his justification
 “ into a new crime.” Let us examine these facts impartially, 1. There is a book produced, whose title advertises an edition reviewed upon a MSS. by Michael de Ville-neuve, where the general preface is, as from the publisher; and at the head of fifty geographical charts, which have every one their introduction and particular description, there is this inscription, *Europæ regionum traditio recens Michaelis Villanovani*. Is there not reason to judge according to appearances, that the shocking passage is his? 2. Servetus says, that it is not his, but not as the turn of the expressions of Mr. d’Artigny would insinuate, “ that he had suppressed it:” of this there is neither trace nor vestige; he might have said it, and he has not said it, he contents himself with simply denying it: let us be fair, and judge candidly: Ought this simple denial to have been admitted as a means of justification when

sage deserves attention, in order to know the character of Servetus.

“ This Servetus,” says he, (k) (k) vie de Calvin p. 9. edd. 1664.

“ was arrogant and insolent, as those have affirmed who knew

“ him at Charlieu, where he

“ lodged with la Riviere about the

“ year 1540, but was forced to

“ leave that place on account of

“ his extravagancies. He went to

“ Vienne in Dauphine.” Bolsec

is deceived as to the last circum-

stance,

when the pannel alledges no proofs of it, as he might have done? 3. Could any thing be more natural than the objection Calvin made, that if this was not his, he was a plagiarist, and took the honour of another's labour? What answer does Servetus give to that? It is, “ That it was nothing but good.” 4. It was insisted upon, and demonstrated to him, that there could be no question but about Moses. He answers not at all, “ That the question was only about modern geographers; but that others had written as Moses had done.” Nothing was more natural than the reply made him, That the principal fault would then fall upon Moses, as the most ancient writer, who had boasted so much of Palestine; and by that had imposed upon others. Servetus contents himself with answering haugh-

stance, Servetus from Charlieu returned to Lyons, where he found Peter Palmer, Archbishop of Vienne, whom he knew at Paris, and this prelate, who loved learned men, and encouraged them by his favours, pressed him to come to Vienne, where he gave him an apartment in his palace. Servetus, as a testimony of his gratitude, published the second edition of his Ptolemy, and dedicated it to him. He might have lived very sweetly and quietly at Vienne, if he had confined himself

tily and disdainfully, "Let us go on, there is no evil in it." I appeal to any unprejudiced judge, if in this case, upon inspecting the passage, and upon the answers of Servetus, without being acquainted either with the edition of Pirckheymer, or of the second given by Servetus, and all the marks which ascribed the work to Servetus alone, any one would have thought, reasoned, and decided otherways, than Calvin did, unfortunately for this great man: he is not less odious still to certain people, than Servetus himself; they have not the resolution to do him that justice, which no impartial man can refuse, without doing violence to his own judg-

LIFE OF SERVETUS.

himself to Physic, and his literary occupation: but always full of his former ideas against religion, he slipped no opportunity of establishing his wretched system; he made frequent journeys to Lyons, where he revised an edition of the Bible in folio, printed by Hugo de la Parte, to which he put a preface in his fashion, under the name of Villanovanus, with marginal notes (G). Calvin assures us that the book-

judgment; give me leave to express myself in this manner, without the least inclination of offending any person whatsoever.

(G) *He put a preface in his fashion — with marginal notes.*] This bible has the title of *Biblia Sacra, ex Santis Pagnini translatione, sed et ad Hebraicæ Linguae amussim ita recognita et scholiis illustrata, ut plane nova editio videri possit. Lugduni 1542, in fol.* As this bible is very rare, we believe that it will be very agreeable to find the preface of Servetus here, and some of his notes, whereby we may judge whether Calvin was in the right or in the wrong, when he called them impertinent and impious. The

preface is as follows, (55) “Michael Villanovanus Lectori Salutem. Docuit nos sapiens ille
 “Jesus Filius suo in Præmio Libri sui, quem
 “ecclesiasticum vocant, Hebraica verba defigere

(55) copied from a beautiful copy communicated to me.

booksellers gave him five hundred
livres for his trouble : he corrected
likewise

“ five obtorpescere, cum in aliam linguam
“ fuerint translata, probe dijudicans vivam
“ illam Spiritus energiam, dictionum empha-
“ ses, concursus, antitheses, allusiones et re-
“ liqua ejus modi non posse in versionibus
“ nostris ad unguem servari, unde merito et
“ olim et nunc, bibliorum interpretationi ple-
“ rique desudantes, rem integram sunt nun-
“ quam assequuti ; quum præsertim historicum
“ et literalem sensum, cui certum est futuræ
“ rei monumentum, ii qui Hebræorum res
“ gestas ignorant, facile contemnant. Unde
“ et mysticos sensus illi et ridicule passim
“ venantur. Ob quam rem te semel et iterum
“ velim rogatum, christiane lector, ut primum
“ Hebraica discas, deinde historiæ diligenter
“ incumbas antequam prophetarum lectionem
“ aggrediaris ; singuli enim prophætæ suam
“ juxta literam sequebantur historiam, quæ
“ et futura præfigurabat, et in qua Christi
“ mysteria secundum Spiritum concludebantur :
“ nam omnia in figura contingebant illis, ut
“ ait Paulus, et testimonium Jesu Christi, ut
“ ait Johannes, est Spiritus prophetiæ, quan-
“ quam alius juxta literam fuerit tunc pro-
“ phetarum sensus, ut rei gestæ ferebat
“ historia. Quod si sensum illum esse vere
“ literalem quis neget, eo quod vis literæ
“ non semper vere congruat, id ego dicenti
“ lubens concedam. Illud tamen perpenden-
“ dum, Hebraicam linguam esse totam hyper-
“ bolis plenam, et majora alia ibi contineri
“ mysteria : perpendendum item, quod si
“ literalis.

likewise some books for John
Frellon, and translated several
treatises

“ literalis ille sensus non dicatur, aliqualis
“ tamen erat futuræ veritatis obumbratio,
“ ut in umbra Davidis relucet veritas soli
“ Christo conveniens. Ab ejus enim historia
“ desumptæ in psalmis sunt prædicendi de
“ Christo occasiones. Imo hac ratione dicitur ille
“ fuisse Christi typus. De Salamone enim in
“ umbra dictum est, *Ero illi in partem*, et
“ de Israelitico populo dictum est, *Ex Ægypto*
“ *vocaui filium meum*, cum tamen soli
“ Christo id vere conveniat, ut et literalem
“ propheticum sensum esse de Christo dicamus.
“ Adde quod liber hic dicitur scriptus intra et
“ extra, et duplicem esse constat scripturæ
“ faciem instar gladii utrinque scindentis;
“ fecunda est scripturæ vis, et sub vetustate
“ occidentis literæ novitatem ita continet
“ vivificantis Spiritus, ut collecto inde uno
“ sensu, alium sit nefas omittere eo magis quia
“ historicus ille alium ultro patefacit; unde
“ et nos, literalem illum veterem, seu histo-
“ ricum passim neglectum sensum conati sem-
“ per sumus scholiis eruere ut ejus typo-mys-
“ ticus, imo verus innotesceret utque illum
“ qui scopus est omnium Jesum Christum sub
“ illis umbris et figuris obvelatum, quem
“ ob id non vident cæci Judæi, nos omnes
“ revelata facie Deum nostrum clare videamus.
“ In qua re, sicut in ipsa Pagnini
“ nostri versione, non parum est nobis post
“ omnia ejus annotamenta desudatum, anno-
“ tamenta inquam quæ ille nobis quamplu-
“ rima reliquit, nec solum annotamenta sed
et

treatises upon the Grammar, from the Latin into Spanish. The book-

“ et exemplar ipsum locis innumeris propria
 “ manu castigatum, ex quibus omnibus
 “ affirmare ausim, et integras magis nunc
 “ esse sententias, et Hebraicæ veritati propin-
 “ quiores. Ecclesiæ tamen et Hebraicæ
 “ peritorum sit de hac re iudicium, alii enim
 “ id iudicare nequeunt. Quicquid vero com-
 “ modi hinc, lector, retuleris, primum Deo
 “ optimo maximo: deinde Hugoni a Perta
 “ Lugdunensi civi gratias ago, cujus opera
 “ et impensis hæc in lucem prodeunt. Vale.”

In this preface we see that Servetus had formed a singular system of the prophecies, and that he pretended they have their proper and direct sense in the history of the times when they were delivered, and that they regard Jesus Christ only so far as the historical facts therein mentioned figuratively represent the actions of our Saviour; or even that these prophecies can't be applied to Jesus Christ but in a sublime and exalted sense, which is to be seen in his notes, where Jesus Christ never enters but as a second person; for instance, that the pernicious counsel which Achitophel gave to Absalom, gave occasion to the first, and the five following psalms: So that upon these words of the second psalm, “ The Lord hath said unto me, Thou art my Son, this day have I begotten thee,” he makes the following note, “ Ad diem resurrectionis Christi vocem hodie refert Paulus, sicut in die qua evasit ab hoste, dicitur David hodie natus, et hodie denuo factus rex.” We see by this, that

bookseller I have just now named,
was a friend of Calvin, and it was
by

that he always pretends against the explication
of the Scriptures themselves, that it was the
actions of kings and prophets, which repre-
sented Jesus Christ, and not the very words of
the prophets. We may see a great many
examples of this in the Bibl. Angl. * I shall * T. 5.
confine myself to his notes upon three of the ^{art. 2.}
most direct prophecies, to shew in what man-
ner Servetus wrests the sense of the Scrip-
tures, and if he was injured, when he was
looked upon as a man who had not the least
respect for the clearest articles of Revelation;
upon these words of psalm cx. v. 1. "The
" Lord said unto my Lord," we read what
follows, " Scilicet Salamoni, quem ut Christi
" typum Dominum vocat David translato in
" eum tanto regno. 1. Paralip. 29. Sciebat
" David ex se oriturum Dei filium domina-
" torem orbis, ideo sub dilecti filii typo eum
" Dominum vocat. Citato enim loco dicitur
" Salomon sedisse super filium Dei secundum
" fortitudinem, a dextris Dei in umbra
" scilicet." It is a misfortune that Servetus
did not live in the time of the Pharisees, he
would have furnished them with an answer to
a difficulty, whereby the Saviour confounds
them, and which was founded precisely upon
these words: he would have taught them, and
even Jesus Christ himself, that this passage
belongs only to Solomon, and that the
Messiah is not brought in there, but only as
represented by Solomon. It has never been
called in question hitherto, but that these
words

by this means, that Servetus entered into an epistolary correspondence

words of the same psalm, "Thou art a priest for ever, after the order of Melchizedeck," may be understood of Solomon, but our Spaniard learnedly teaches us, that this prince had performed sometimes the functions of a priest, "Salomon sacerdotem aliquando egit." He explains the liii. ch. of Isaiah about Cyrus, by acknowledging that in a mystical sense the truth is found in Jesus Christ. Sometimes, however, he forgets himself entirely, and applies the prophecies which can only regard the Messiah to the history of the Jews, without saying, that they have the least respect to Jesus Christ: such is the explication he gives of the famous prophecy of the seventy weeks of Daniel, which we shall subjoin here: "Ab egressu prædicti ait me a Deo sermonis de restituenda et ædificanda Jerusalem, usque ad ducem Cyrum Christum Dei, qui id exsequitur, hebdomades sunt septem: hebdomadisque sexaginta duabus restituetur, et ædificabitur platea et fossa in angustia scilicet temporum, et post eas sexaginta hebdomades occidetur Cyrus et erit in nihilum: dissipabitque ædificium et desolabit Cambyfes Cyro succedens. Fædus autem primum firmabit Darius, post quem iterum sequitur Antiochi abominatio stupenda, et erit finis orbis Judaici." Here is nothing which relates to Jesus Christ, every thing regards Cyrus his successors and Antiochus.

(H) *Obliged*

dence with this famous reformer : the way he behaved to Calvin, obliged this last to break all correspondence with him. (H) There are

(H) *Obliged this last to break all correspondence with him.*] Mr. d'Artigny says, (56) ^{(56) ub.}

" That Servetus had examined the works of ^{supr. p.}

" Calvin very carefully, and not finding they ^{69.}

" deserved the great reputation they had ac-

" quired amongst the reformed, he consulted

" him not so much to be instructed by him,

" as to perplex him." I don't know if Ser-

vetus found that Calvin did not deserve the

great reputation he had ; I rather believe

that his vanity engaged him to break a

launce with such a famous champion, in

order to raise himself ; being flattered he could

effectually embarrass him. Be this as it will,

he sent from Lyons three questions to Calvin,

concerning the Divinity of Jesus Christ, Re-

generation, and the Necessity of Baptism.

1. " An homo Jesus crucifixus sit filius Dei,

" et quæ sit hujus filiationis ratio." 2. " An

" regnum Christi sit in hominibus ; quando

" quis ingrediatur et quando regeneretur."

3. " An Baptismus Christi debeat in fide fieri

" sicut coena, et quorsum hæc instituta sint

" foedere novo." Calvin answered him with

a great deal of prudence and good manners :

(57) Servetus refuted his answer very haugh- ^{(57) In}

tily. Calvin replied with vivacity, but at the ^{his Opus-}

same time in such a manner, as testified that ^{cul. p.}

the interest of truth, the pride of his adver- ^{m. 517.}

sary, and the nature of the errors he defended, ^{5. 8. ed.}

extorted ^{Lat. 1667.}

are a great many falsehoods published on this occasion against Calvin.

(58) ib.
P. 522.

extorted unwillingly from him, some expressions a little too severe; this is what he says in effect: "Itaque quid tibi velis, non assequer, nisi utcumque tuis deliriis essem assuefactus, ignosce; ita res me loqui cogit. Ego te nec odi nec contemno nec durius insectari velim: atqui ferreus sum nisi commovear, quum te sanæ doctrinæ tanta protervia insultare video." (58) i. e. "I could not know what you mean, if I was not accustomed to your reveries; pardon the harshness of these words, the nature of the thing forced them from me: I neither hate you nor despise you, and I have no design to push you too rudely; but I must be made of iron, not to be moved, when I see you insulting the Sacred Doctrine with so much pride." I imagine that it is this answer, which Calvin sent to John Frellon, having wrote him the letter, we shall give an account of just now, after having observed, that Calvin concealed himself under the name of Charles Espeville, as he had formerly done in his journey to Ferrara. The letter follows;

"Mr. John,

"As to your last letters that came to my hand, upon my departure, I had no time to give an answer to the contents of them: since my return, with the first leisure I have had, I have been very fond of satisfying your desire, not that I have any great hopes of doing any good to such a man, seeing

vin. Some have said that the
divine of Geneva was so piqued
against

“ seeing him so disposed, but in order to try
“ if there is yet any means of reclaiming
“ him, which will be, when God shall have
“ so wrought in him, that he becomes another
“ man. As to what he has written me with
“ such a spirit of pride, I have been willing
“ to bring down his arrogance, by talking to
“ him in a harsher manner than I am accus-
“ tomed to do. But I could not do other-
“ wise; for I assure you, that there is no
“ lesson more necessary for him to learn, than
“ that of humility; and that must come from
“ the Grace of God, and no where else. But
“ we ought likewise to put to our hand, if
“ God grant his Grace to him, and to us,
“ that he profits by our present answer, I
“ shall have wherein to rejoice; if he goes
“ on in such a stile as he has done hitherto,
“ you will but lose your time in soliciting me
“ to take any further pains upon him, for I
“ have other affairs upon my hands that are
“ more pressing; and I would have a scruple
“ of conscience to give myself any further
“ trouble about him, not doubting but he is
“ a Satan, to turn my attention from other
“ studies more useful. I intreat you there-
“ fore, to satisfy yourself with what I have
“ done, if you can find no better way.
“ Whereupon after my hearty recommenda-
“ tion, I pray our God to have you in his
“ keeping. This 13th. of February, 1546.
“ Your servant and entire friend,

“ CHARLES DESPEVILLE.”

against Servetus, that he wrote to his friends, that if ever this heretick should fall into his hands, he should order it so, that it should cost him his life (1). If Bolsec is to

At the foot of this letter there is a note from Frellon to Servetus, which he sent him with Calvin's answer: Servetus was so piqued, that he conceived a very great hatred against Calvin, who complains that he never ceased to vomit forth injuries and imprecations against him. Mr. d'Artigny assures us, (59) That their correspondence in letters, consisted almost of nothing else but injuries and invectives, which can hardly be believed; if it continued, as the same author says, to the year 1548, what Calvin wrote to Frellon won't suffer us to think that this divine gave himself so much trouble for more than two years in reading and answering these injuries of Servetus: what makes me think that their correspondence terminated in 1546, is a letter of Calvin's we shall speak of in the following note. What probability is there that Calvin would keep a correspondence of letters with a man of whom he had said, *that if he fell into his hands, it should cost him his life?*

(1) *He should order it so, that it should cost him his life.*] There are some who say, that that which finished this divine's hatred against him, was, that Servetus had sent him in MSS. his *Restitution of Christianity*; wherein he had inserted thirty letters he had written to Calvin.

(60) Mr.

to be relied on, Calvin wrote to Cardinal de Tournon to pursue the

(60) Mr. de la Roche (61) appears to be of another opinion: he says, that Servetus about six years before he was imprisoned at Geneva, sent a MSS. to Calvin, to know what he thought of it, and that this piece was never printed. This was not therefore his *Restitution of Christianity*. Mr. d'Artigny is positive, I don't know whether he has taken it from the pieces of his process, that he had extracted from the archives of the archbishoprick of Vienne, "That (62) Servetus wanting in his turn to humble Calvin, who had treated him with very little respect, and had sent him a MSS. wherein he severely reprimanded a great number of mistakes and errors he had remarked in his writings; above all, in his *Christian Institutions*, the favourite production of this pretended reformer: Calvin was so irritated thereby, that he wrote to his friends, Farel and Viret, "That if such a heretick, &c." Bolsec is the witness alledged for the letter written by Calvin to Viret. Sorbier speaks of a letter to Farel, (63) and says, that Grotius had seen it at Paris. Uytenbegaert assures us, (64) that one of his friends had read it in a collection of MSS. letters, in four vols. where there were a great many original pieces, and he says, that he had even a copy of it, which could not come from a better hand. "I have had," says he, (65) "a copy which was sent me from a very good and authentick hand, who declares that he

(60) vid. Bibl. Rai.

t. 1. p.

376.

(61) Bibl. Angl. t. 2.

p. 99.

(62) ubi supr. p.

72.

(63) Sol-

vitiana

48, 49.

ed. 1694.

(64)

Kerklyke

Hist. Rot.

t. 47. p. 2.

& p. 81,

82.

(65) ib.

p. 76.

E

" had

LIFE OF SERVETUS.

“ had seen and read the original of a Latin
 “ letter from Calvin to Farel of the year
 “ 1546, wherein the following words are to
 “ be read, *Servetus nuper ad me scripsit, et*
 “ *litteris adjunxit magnum volumen suorum deli-*
 “ *riorum cum Thrasonica jaſtancia, me ſtupenda*
 “ *et haſtenus inaudita viſorum. Si mihi placeat,*
 “ *buc ſe venturum recipit, ſed nolo fidem meam*
 “ *interponere; nam ſi venerit, modo valeat mea*
 “ *authoritas, vivum exire nunquam patiar.*”

What a great noiſe about this letter! Mr. d'Artigny ſays, “ That notwithstanding the
 “ formal testimony of Bolſec and Groſius,
 “ who have ſaid, that they have ſeen this
 “ letter, ſome proteſtant hiſtorians have not
 “ failed to deny that it exiſts; without doubt,
 “ becauſe it does not contribute a great deal
 “ to Calvin's honour.” I don't know who
 theſe hiſtorians are, the abbot ſpeaks of, and
 we are going to ſee that this letter is in no
 ſhape to Calvin's diſhonour. The author of
 the extracts of the hiſtory of Servetus upon

(66) Bibl. the article of theſe letters, ſays, (66) “ I ſhall
 Raiſ. ubi. “ not make any remark upon theſe witneſſes
 ſupra p. “ being ſuſpected; perhaps I might with little
 377, 378. “ trouble, prove it upon Bolſec; and the
 “ reſpect I have for the memory of Groſius,
 “ ſhould never hinder me to aſk, with Mr.
 “ Alwoerden, Why did not the remonſtrants
 “ cauſe all theſe MSS. letters to be printed,
 “ which would have done ſo much harm to
 “ Calvin and Calviniſm? why did not they
 “ at leaſt print two or three bundles of them,
 “ if they had of them actually four volumes
 “ compleat?” Here this able man is miſtaken;
 Uytenbegaert does not ſay, that all theſe four
 volumes were Calvin's letters; he only aſſerts
 that

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that there was amongst them some of this reformer's; as for what follows, I willingly adopt what this learned Journalist adds; "I frankly own, that it appears very probable to me, that Calvin did write what is imputed to him: If he was in good earnest convinced, that his conscience obliged him to punish hereticks with death, might he not believe, that he was under an obligation to prosecute Servetus criminally, if he should take it in his head to come to Geneva? and if he believed, that he was under such an obligation, is there any thing surprising, that he should tell it in confidence to his intimate friends? and does not such a confidence testify the uprightness of his intention, and the purity of his aim? had he been actuated by a principle of worldly hatred, and black revenge, can any one believe, that he would have been so stupid as to have owned it to two persons of this character? people may say, if they please, that his zeal was blind; I shall not say but it was; but to conclude, these two letters about which so much noise has been made, incontestably prove, that he was actuated by zeal only, and not by any personal resentment." Here is an evident proof of the sentiments which the Journalist ascribes to Calvin, in that which he said, that he could not bring himself under any obligation if he accepted the offer which Servetus made him, to come and visit him; which does him honour. If Calvin had wanted to revenge himself, he might very easily have drawn Servetus into the snare, and destroyed him. He had no occasion to violate a safe conduct,

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this Spanish heretick (K). But we may see in the remarks, that all this

as certain councils have done; and which Mr. d'Artigny very well knows, an answer somewhat equivocal, would have done the business, and Calvin might have justified himself by examples sufficiently illustrious. I wish that moderate people were not forced to awaken certain facts, by throwing out reflections, to which they can't be ignorant, that there are answers abundantly mortifying, for those who draw them upon them.

- (K) *Cardinal de Tournon to persecute this Spanish heretick.*] It does not appear to me that Mr. d'Artigny, or Mr. de la Roche have given any credit to this fable; But Mr. d'Alwoerden adopts it, and he has been solidly refuted by the Journalist cited in the preceding remark; he observes, (67) That Bolfec relates it in a manner which shews the little credit that ought to be given to it. See what he is made to say in Latin; (68) “ Nam omnes
 (67) ib. p. 379. “ postea modos peruestigarit Calvinus quibus
 (68) vit. Calv. c. 3. p. 8. “ homini nocere, necemque procurare posset,
 apud eun. “ et scripsit idcirco ad reverendum Dominum
 “ Cardinalem Turnoneum, eo ipso tempore
 “ Regis Galliae vices gerentem, Servetum de
 “ hæresi accusans, unde Cardinalis in risum
 “ vehementer solutus, Hæreticus aiebat hic
 “ hæreticum accusat. From that time Calvin
 “ tried all sorts of ways to hurt Servetus, and
 “ bring him to death; with this view he
 “ wrote to the Rev. Cardinal de Tournon,
 “ who was then vice-roy or regent of France,
 “ accusing

this is either doubtful or false;
 Servetus always very headstrong
 in

“accusing Servetus of heresy, which made
 “the Cardinal lay, bursting out in laughter,
 “Behold one heretick wants to accuse ano-
 “ther.” Behold a story, the simple reading
 of which exposes its falsehood! 1. Cardinal de
 Tournon never was either vice-roy or regent
 of France. 2. Francis I. being dead in the
 month of March, 1547, and the persecution
 becoming general, in the beginning of Henry
 II’s reign, it behoved to be only under this
 last, that Calvin imagined he could stir up the
 court against Servetus; and then, it was not
 to the Cardinal de Tournon he was to apply;
 he was dismissed from all employments in
 the beginning of this reign, and Cardinal
 Lorrain became all-powerful at court: it was
 to him that Calvin ought to have written, if
 he wrote to any one, to do Servetus a mis-
 chief in good earnest. 3. Cardinal Tournon
 was always an implacable enemy of the re-
 formed: see his picture drawn by a catholick
 hand: (69) “All historians agree in repre- (69) Vid.
 “sents Cardinal Tournon to us, as the d’Artig.
 “scourge of heresy. He caused the severest loc. cit.
 “edicts to be published against the innovators. P. 114.
 “He established at Paris a fiery court, (b) 115. not.
 “(*chambre ardente*,) which was properly
 “an inquisition, and ordered all the tribu-
 “nals of the kingdom to prosecute the new
 “errors as crimes against the state. The
 “fury of his zeal transported him so far,
 “that he caused all the hereticks to be
 “burned, who had the misfortune to fall into

in his sentiments, began a third work against the Trinity, and other

“his hands.” Behold the man they want to make a correspondent of Calvin by letters! Whatever wickedness they would load him with, they must suppose him a perfect block-head, to attempt such a correspondence by a criminal accusation of his enemy; as it would appear by the loud fits of laughter they make the Cardinal fall into, upon receiving this letter. “I would fain know,” adds the Journalist, “if ever Calvin passed for a fool.”

4. But supposing that this reformer had been capable of such extravagant folly, how can we imagine that the Cardinal, “this scourge of heresy,” would have satisfied himself with laughing at this affair? that he made himself merry with the accuser, needs not surprise us, but that he neglected to prosecute such a heretick as Servetus, we can’t so easily be persuaded of. 5. Thus Calvin himself gives no other reason in answer to the calumny we are refuting, as we shall see by his own words; that the calumny came originally from Servetus, and that Bolsec knew nothing of the matter, but from uncertain reports.

(70) Declaration

&c. p. 53,

54. edit.

in 8vo.

and in the

Opusc.

in Lat. p.

m. 517.

“I have no occasion,” says Calvin, (70) “to insist longer to answer such a frivolous calumny, which falls to the ground, when I shall have said in one word, that there is nothing in it. It is four years since Servetus forged this fable upon me, and made the report travel from Venice to Padua, where they made use of it according to their fancy; I don’t dispute, however, if it was
“by

other tenets of Christianity ; which
cost him four years labour, and
then

“ by deliberate malice he had forged such lies
“ to bring the hatred of many upon me, or
“ whether fear made him suspicious ; only I
“ demand how it could happen, that since
“ the time I discovered him, he has lived
“ three years in the sight of his enemies,
“ without being disquieted, or speaking one
“ word about it to him ; certainly either those
“ who complain of me must confess, that it
“ has been falsely invented, or, that their
“ martyr Servetus, has had more favour
“ from the papists than I : if this had been
“ objected to me with justice, and that I had
“ published it in order to have him punished
“ by any person whatsoever, I would not have
“ denied it, and I don't think it could have
“ turned to my dishonour.” This I am con-
fident is sufficient to satisfy reasonable men ;
above all, if we add to it what Calvin had
said immediately before the passage, I have
cited : “ A report flies about, that I had
“ endeavoured to have had Servetus appre-
“ hended in a popish country, viz, at Vienne ;
“ upon which a great many say, that I have
“ not behaved discreetly, in exposing him to
“ the mortal enemies of the faith, as if I had
“ thrown him in the jaws of wolves ; but I
“ pray you, from whence comes so suddenly
“ this private dealing with the Pope's satel-
“ lites ? It is very credible, indeed, that we
“ should correspond together by letters, and
“ that those who agree with me, as well

then sent it in MSS. to a German, called Marinus, one of his friends, to cause it to be printed at Basil; whether the booksellers of this city durst not take it upon them, or for other reasons, we know nothing of, this project did not succeed: Marinus sent back his book,

“as Belial, agrees with Jesus Christ, should
 “enter into a plot with such a mortal enemy
 “as with their own companion.” The Journalist who has set himself to refute this idle tale, is justly surprised that Mr. d’Alwoerden has paid so much deference to this pretended letter of Calvin’s to Cardinal Tournon, so much the rather as the author of the dialogues “inter Vaticanum et Calvinum,” (71) talks of it as a very uncertain thing. There are some who say that Calvin wrote himself to Cardinal Tournon plainly to this purpose, ‘If you are as zealous for religion as you pretend, you would not suffer, that Servetus who is amongst, &c. The question here is only about a hearsay.’ The writer did not know that the sense of the letter and the &c. marks a suspension of the meaning, the affectation of which demonstrates, that they did not know very well what the letter contained; but if it had existed and been shewn to any person who wanted to see it, as Bolsec insinuates, how has it happened that none of Calvin’s enemies
 ever

(71) Apud
 Clytab.
 K. Rl.
 Hist. p. 2.
 p. 76.

book, acquainting him, that he was surely not ignorant why he could not print it at Basil at that time. Not being able to succeed there, Servetus chused to intrust it with Balthazat Arnollet, bookseller at Vienne in Dauphine, and William Gueroult Arnollet's brother-in-law and director of his printing-press. He gained them by arguments and promises, and the work appeared in the beginning of 1553, under the title of *Christianismi Restitutio* (L). This work

ever took a copy of it, and that it never has been exactly known what were the words of the original?

(L) The beginning of 1553 under the title of *Christianismi Restitutio*.] Servetus, in order to gain Arnollet and his brother-in-law, "Let them know," says Mr. d'Artigny, (72) (72) ubi
 "That although his book was against Calvin, ^{supr.} p.
 "Melancton, and other hereticks, he had 74
 "very strong reasons which would not allow
 "him to put his name to it, nor the name of
 "the city, nor of the printer: he added, to
 "make them undertake it, That the impression
 "should be at his own expence; that he
 "should correct the proofs himself, and
 "promised a gratuity to each of them of a
 "hundred

work was printed so secretly, that not one person in Vienne had the least

“ hundred crowns; a considerable sum for “ that time.” It appears by the answers of the compositors who were employed in this book, that the printing of it was finished

(73) *ibid.* January 3, 1553 (73). The title of it, as p. 117. Mess. de la Roche and d'Artigny have given it,

is, *Christianismi Restitutio, h. e. totius ecclesie apostolica ad sua limina vocatio, in integrum restituta, cognitione Dei, fidei christianæ, justificationis nostræ, regenerationis, baptismi, et cænæ Domini manducationis. Restituto denique regno cælesti, Babylonis impia captivitate soluta, et anti-Christo penitus cum suis penitus destructo.*

MDLIII. Mr. Shelborn gives it with some

(74) *Am.* difference (74); instead of *fidei christianæ*, he *Liter. t.* reads *fidei Christi*; and after the title, so as it 2. p. 352. is above, he adds, *חזק א'עמוד מ'ב אל חשד*

καὶ ἐγένετο πόλεμος ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ MDLIII, and at the end of the book, M. S. V. 1553. These initial letters certainly design the name of the author; Michael Servetus Villanovanus. It is in 8vo. of 734 pages; some say there were eight hundred copies cast off, and others raise the number to a thousand. This book is excessively rare, “ ipsa raritate major,” says Mr. Shelborn. Mr. de Hase, a Bremen divine, affirms, That he never saw any person who could say that they had seen it in print, except Sandius, who affirmed, That it was in the library of the Landgrave of Hesse. Mr. d'Artigny says, “ That the copies are “ become so rare, that there is scarcely four “ or

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least knowledge of it. Servetus
caused all the copies of it to be
trans-

“ or five known in the world;” but he does
not tell us where those four or five are to be
found. Let us not forget the curious note
which he adds (75): “ I have seen,” says he, (75)d’Ar-
“ in Mr. Dufay’s library, a piece of this book ^{tig. loc.}
“ in MSS. it was a small quarto, about a ^{cit. p. 75.}
“ finger thick, containing about 200 pages,
“ written by the hand of Cælius Horatius
“ Curio: see the note at the head of this
“ copy of Mr. Dufay.” “ Forſan ipſius
“ auctoris autographus codex hic MS. qui fuit
“ perlecebris Bibliopolæ Baptiensiſ, Cœlii Ho-
“ ratii Curionis. Videtur prima conceptio
“ (GALLICE L’ESQUISSE, a sketch) libri valde fa-
“ migerati, Michaelis Serveti, a Johanne Cal-
“ vino, cum ipſo Serveto combuſti, cui titulus
“ *Chriſtianismi Reſtitutio*, hoc eſt, totius ec-
“ cleſiæ apoſtoliciæ ad ſua limina vocatio, &c.
“ typis Mandati. anno. 1553. Vinnæ Allobro-
“ gum. in 8vo. pag. 734, cujus exemplar
“ unicum, quod in Bibliotheca principis
“ Heſſiæ quæ eſt Caſſelis, aſſervabatur, quæ-
“ renti et perſcrutanti curioſo admodum prin-
“ cipi Eugenio a Sabandia, cum ab aliquot
“ annis pertranſiret Caſſellas, pactare non
“ potuit, ipſo Landgravio comite et inquirente
“ adeo ut de jactura illius libri unici nullus
“ ſit dubitandi locus. vid. Biblioth. Fayanae.
“ p. 98.” As every thing is intereſting con-
cerning rare books, I ſhall add here, what we
find in *Bibliotheca exquiſitiſſima*, part. 2. p.
209. no. 4514, which was ſold at the Hague,
in

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transported to Lyons, a part of them was entrusted with Peter

Merrin

in 1732. By Adrian Moetyens, bookseller.

‘Codex præclarus, et rarissimus nitide manu-
 ‘scriptus in charta continet, auctoris ignoti
 ‘delineatio Christianæ Theologiæ a pag. 1. ad.
 ‘64. Michaelis Serveti Restitutio Christianismi,
 ‘a pag. 65. ad 356. Eiusdem de Trinitate
 ‘divina, dialogi duo inter Michaellem et Pe-
 ‘trum; primus agit de legis umbris et Christi
 ‘complemento, angelorum animarum et in-
 ‘ferni substantia: secundus modum genera-
 ‘tionis Christi docens quod ipse non sit crea-
 ‘tura, nec finitæ potentiæ, sed vere adoran-
 ‘dus verusque Deus a pag. 357 ad. 480.
 ‘Idem de fide et justitia regni Christi legis
 ‘justitiam superantis et de charitate a pag. 481.
 ‘ad 584. ejusdem Serveti de generatione
 ‘superna et regno anti-Christi, libri IV. a pag.
 ‘585. ad 940. ejusdem epistolæ XXX. ad
 ‘Joan. Calvinum Gebennensium conciona-
 ‘torem a pag. 941. ad 1079. Eiusdem Serveti
 ‘signa sexaginta regni anti-Christi, et reve-
 ‘latio ejus jam nunc præsens a pag. 1079. ad
 ‘1089. idem de mysterio Trinitatis, et vete-
 ‘rum disciplina ad Philippum Melanchtonem,
 ‘et ejus collegas. Item historia de morte
 ‘truculenta Michael Serveti Hispani ex
 ‘instinctu Johannis Calvini Genevæ combusti,
 ‘anno Servatoris 1553, 27 Octobris a pag.
 ‘1090. ad finem, 4 voluminibus in folio.’

He who has drawn up this advertisement otherwise exact, appears not to have known, that except the first and the last piece, all the
 rest

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Merrin Caster of Types, expecting some opportunity of sending them to

rest belong only to that work of Servetus, called *Christianismi Restitutio*. The same is found in two vols. quarto, in the *Bibliotheca Selectissima*, which was sold at Amsterdam in the month of November, 1743, by the bookseller Peter Mortier. The *Delineatio Christianæ Theologiæ* which is ascribed to Joachim Stegmann, a famous Socinian; it is alledged that it was ascribed to him by Samuel Crellius; this is not exactly true: I have in my hands the work of Servetus in MS. in a large vol. in quarto, which was generously communicated to me by the famous Doctor Tronchin: at the head of the volume we find likewise, *Christianæ Theologiæ Delineatio*, on which there is the following note written by Crellius's own hand, " Num Joachimo Stegmanno, num vero alteri alicui Unitario sit adscribenda non sum certus; descripta est manu soceri mei Johannis Precussii, ecclesiæ Unitariorum in Polonia et postea in exilio ministri, partim filii ejus eidem cognominis." We find after this Servetus's work, *Christianismi Restitutio*, written from a printed copy, the title is exactly the same as Shelborn had given it, with the Hebrew and Greek words before the date of the year: at the end likewise, we find the initial letters of the author's name, M. S. V. and the date 1553: after the work we have a picture of Servetus in copper-plate, done at Amsterdam in 1607, by Christopher van Suhim, engraver:

to Italy; John Frellon took upon him to send the rest of them to Franc-

enraver; with a kind of abridgement of Servetus's life in Dutch: after this follows an account of his death, then follows a piece in the Polish language, if I am not mistaken, and a letter which has for a title, *De Fago Persecutionis*, being a mixture of Latin and Polish: on the margin we read, "Epistola cujusdam Unitarii ad amicum, varias continens rationes cur Jonas Schlichtingius ob libros editos, ad comitia regni citatos, non debeat comparere." By the detail I have made, we see that this volume is most curious, a kind of engraved vignetto which they have fixed upon the first leaf of it, shews that the MS. has belonged to the famous library of Mr. d'Uffembach, and a note of Crellius's upon the works of Servetus, which follows that which we have related above, is as follows, "Christianismi Restitutio subjuncta, descripta est partim a modo dicto socero meo Preussio, partim a Jeremia Felbingero, partim ab ignoto mihi homine. In media parte libri a pag. 367. ad. 840. incl. manus est Filbingeri; pag. 841, usque ad 869. item pag. 873, usque ad pag. 920, est manus ignoti. Primam partem libri et reliqua omnia socer meus descripsit. Usi autem sunt descriptores isti codice Serveti typis impresso, quem Daniel Marcus Szent-Ivani, alumnus ecclesiæ Unitariæ Transilvanicæ, postea plebaneis ecclesiæ Claudopolitanæ et episcopus reliquarum per Transilvaniam ecclesiarum in Anglia

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Francfort. This bookseller was the common friend of Calvin and Servetus,

“Anglia nescio, ubi et quomodo nactus,
 “cum per Marchiam Brandeburgicam re-
 “mearet in patriam, (quod inter annum
 “1660 et 1670, occidisse collegio) cum
 “Preussio communicaverat, hæc adscripsi in
 “gratiam amplissimi et excellentissimi do-
 “mini possessoris. Berolini die 3 Augusti,
 “1720.

“Samuel Crellius.

“Joannis Crellii Franci Nepos.”

Mr. de la Roche who had read a MS. copy of Servetus's work, has given publick notice of it, (76) which has been followed by F. (76) Bibl. Nicéron, and Mr. d'Artigny: these who shall have no opportunity of seeing this book, will not be ill-pleased to know the contents of it a little more particularly. The *Christianismi Restitutio* is composed of six parts. The first is intituled, *De Trinitate Divina, quod in eo non sit invisibilium trium rerum illusio. Sed vera substantiæ Dei manifestatio in Verbo et communicatio in Spiritu. Libri septem.* The titles of the seven books are as follows: *De homine Jesu Christi et Simulacris falsis. Liber primus.* Let us give the beginning of Servetus's book, which contains partly the plan of this first book. “*Librum narrationis filii Dei, instar primæ apostolorum prædicationis, a notioribus inchoabo ab iis, quæ cordati cuicque sint manifesta, et omnibus publice prædicata, ut hæc nostra via facile principium*”
 “habeat.

Servetus, and it was through his hands the several pieces passed :
they

“ habeat. Ipse *Homo Jesu* est ostium et via,
 “ a quo et merito exordium sumam, tum quia
 “ de ipso nunc agetur, tum ut sophistas repri-
 “ mam, qui ad verbi cognitionem sine hoc
 “ fundamento ascendentes, in alium filium
 “ traducuntur, et verum filium Dei oblivioni
 “ tradunt. Quibus ego ad memoriam, quis
 “ sit ille verus filius reducere curabo. Pro-
 “ nomine ad sensum demonstrante ipsum
 “ hominem verberibus cæsum et flagellatum
 “ concedam hæc tria simpliciter vera esse.
 “ Primo hic est Jesus Christus, secundo hic est
 “ filius Dei. Tertio hic est Deus.” After
 having laid down these three propositions, or
 maxims, as he calls them, he answers the
 three arguments of the Pharisees : explains
 two texts, that of 1 John v. 7. and Matth.
 xxviii. 19. and answers the reasons which are
 alledged to prove the Trinity, and at last im-
 pugns this tenet, by metaphysical arguments,
 by passages of Scripture, and some other
 reasons. “ De Trinitate divina liber secun-
 “ dus, quorundam locorum expositionem
 “ continens.” The twenty texts which Ser-
 vetus explains in this second book, are these
 following : John i. 1. 1 Coloss. i. 15. Ps. ii. 7.
 Gen. xlix. 10. Ps. xcv. 7. (according to the
 vulg. xciv. 8.) Ps. cx. 1. (vulg. cix.) Ps.
 cx. 3. Isa. vii. 14. Joh. iii. 13. Coloss. ii. 9.
 Joh. xiv. 11. and viii. 58. and i. 15. 1 Pet.
 iii. 18. 20. After this he collects together all
 the passages where it is said that God has
 created.

which they had written against one another; it is alledged, (n) ^{(n) ib. p.} that ^{78.}

created all things by Jesus Christ, Joh. x. 18. After that he explains in what sense Jesus Christ in different places is called the Wisdom, the Power of God, the Brightness of his Glory, Gen. xix. 24. Hebr. ii. 16. "De Trinitate divina liber tertius, personæ Christi in Verbo præfigurationem ostendens, visionem Dei et Verbi hypostasim, liber quartus. Nomina Dei ejusque essentiam omniformem manifestans, et rerum omnium principia, liber quintus: in quo agitur de Spiritu Sancto." Then follow two dialogues, which make the sixth and seventh book. "Primus agit de Legis umbris et Christi complemento, angelorum, animorum, et inferni substantia. Dialogus secundus, modum generationis Christi docens, quod ipse non sit creatura, nec finitæ potentiæ, sed vere adorandus verusque Deus." The second treatise of this work of Servetus is entituled: *De Fide et Justitia Regni Christi, Legis Justitiam superantis, et de Charitate libri tres. Liber primus de Fide et Justitia Regni Christi*, in four chapters. cap. 1. *de Fide.* cap. 2. *de Fidei Essentia.* cap. 3. *de Justificatione.* cap. 4. *de Regno Christi. Liber secundus de Legis et Evangelii ac Judæi et Christiani Differentia*, in three chapters. cap. 1. *Quod Judæum excellat Christianus.* cap. 2. *Quod in Lege fuerit Justitia carnis, cum in Evangelio sit Justitia Spiritus.* cap. 3. *Quod in lege fuerit Justitia factorum, cum in Evangelio sit Justitia*
F Fidei

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that by his means, he first got a copy of this new work of Servetus was the author of this book :

Fidei liber tertius, de Charitate cum Fide collata et Operis Bonis, in five parts. cap. 1. de Mercede et Gloriæ Differentia. cap. 2. de Charitatis illustribus epithetis. cap. 3. Quid Fides efficiat, Quid Charitas, et Opera. cap. 4. de Factorum origine et efficacia. cap. 5. de Charitatis et Fidei Collatione ipsiusque Charitatis Excellentia. The third treatise is entituled, *De Regeneratione superna et de Regno anti-Christi libri quatuor; de Orbis perditione et Christi reparatione liber primus, in two parts. Pars prima, de Orbis perditione et Christi reparatione. Pars secunda de Cælesti, Terrestri et infernali Satanz, et anti-Christi potestate, et de nostra victoria, liber secundus; pars prima, de Circumcisione vera, cum reliquis Christi et anti-Christi mysteriis omnibus jam completis. Pars secunda, de anti-Christi mysteriis omnibus jam completis. Liber tertius, de ministeriis ecclesiæ Christi et eorum efficacia, de Baptismi efficacia, de Cæna Domini, Liber quartus, de Ordine Mysteriorum Regenerationis, de Catechismo. De impositione Manuum.* In the fourth part, we have thirty letters from Servetus to Calvin. *Epist. 1. de Christi filiatione. Ep. 2. de generatione Christi ex Dei substantia, et an Deitas Christi dicatur Filius. Ep. 3. de Christi æterna generatione digne temporaria. Ep. 4. 8. de natura angelorum et dæmonum, an habeant corpora, et de Gigantibus, Genes. 6. Ep. 9. 20. de fide justificante. Ep. 21. 30. de Natura et Potentia Fidei, et an possit amitti.* The fifth piece of this work is the

Signa

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vetus: others only say, (o) that Calvin having learned that Servetus was the author of this book, and that he found means to get a copy of it. Mr. d'Alwoerden is silent as to the manner how this work

(o) Le
Roche
Bibl.
Angl. t.
2. p. 102.

Signa sexaginta regni anti-Cbristi et Revelatio ejus jam nunc præsens. Last of all, there is *de Mysterio Trinitatis et veterum disciplina ad Philippum Melancthonem et ejus collegas.* Such are the contents of Servetus's work, of which I have a splendid copy before me, (besides the one communicated to me by Mr. Trenchin) taken from the copy made from the very original of Szent-Ivani, and where the pages of the printed copy are exactly marked in the margin. From a note of Samuel Crellius found here, amongst other remarks, I learn, that he had made a present of that MS. now in the possession of Mr. Trenchin, to Mr. Andrew Erasmus Scidel, Counsellor to his Prussian Majesty, after whose death it was purchased by Mr. de la Croze, who gave it in a present to Mr. John Christopher Wolf, of Hamburgh, by whom it was conveyed to Mr. Uffenback's library, which being sold at Francfort after the professor's death, Peter de Hondt the bookseller caused the MS. to be purchased, where Crellius had seen and owned it, and from thence it came into Mr. Trenchin's possession. With respect to the printed original from whence these copies are

F 2

taken,

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work fell into Calvin's hands ; but he assures us, that Calvin, who found out by secret means whatever concerned Servetus, knew immediately that Servetus was the author of this book. May not all these

taken, there is some probability that it has fallen into the hands of the Jesuits, who perhaps could give some account of it ; this at least is what Mr. Crellius means in a note :
 " Postea Amstelodami, Ann. 1735, a claris-
 " simo Stephano Agh, ecclesiæ Unitariorum
 " Transylvanorum, tunc alumno studioso
 " nunc professore gymnasii eorum Claudipoli-
 " tani, percepti, opus illud typis impressum
 " Servetianum, jam inter Unitarios Transyl-
 " vanos non reperiri. Nam eum eis, occu-
 " pata a Leopoldo imperatore Transylvania,
 " utrumque templum Claudiopoli a Romano-
 " Catholicis admiraretur, imminente hoc peri-
 " culo improvide securi, neglexerunt Bibli-
 " othecam suam e templo majore, ubi collo-
 " cata fuerit, mature subducere, quæ proinde
 " a Jesuitis occupata fuit." (We see in a
 catalogue of Mr. de Boze's books, p. 40.
 this work of Servetus, if not the only copy,
 at least a very curious one ; a singularity
 which struck me, is, that it is dated 1559,
 whereas the book had been printed in 1553 :
 perhaps after Servetus's death, they put a new
 title to some copies which had escaped de-
 struction.) I flatter myself that these parti-
 culars

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these variations make us suspect that these gentlemen hazard their conjectures only to bring Calvin in the play? This is not all; the historians of Servetus pretend that Calvin, by the assistance of a profelyte of his at Geneva, called William Frie, found means to arrest Servetus at Vienne: but it is not difficult to prove, that there is a great deal of passion in every thing that has been published on this subject, and many things are advanced without proofs (M). Be that

culars will not displease the curious. I shall say nothing here of Servetus's opinions, because I shall have occasion to say something of them afterwards; and if my time allows me, I shall make them known more fully than hitherto has been done.

(M) *And many things are advanced without proofs.*] I have already observed in the text, that the historians of Servetus don't agree amongst themselves: as to the manner in which Calvin was concerned in the arresting this physician, let us first give their different accounts, and then make our observations upon them. Mr. de la Roche says, (77) (77) *ibid.* Although the *Christianismi Restitutio* had p. 102.

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that as it will, William Trie of Lyons, who had embraced the reformed

“ been printed very secretly, Calvin understood that Servetus was the author, and found means to get a copy of it. After which he caused a letter to be written to Lyons, by one William Trie, in the month of March, 1553, in which Servetus was represented as extremely pernicious. This letter was accompanied with the title, the index and the first sheets of his book. Servetus complained of this at Geneva, during his trial, and said that Calvin had sent these letters to Lyons, that he might be arrested and pursued as a heretick. About fifteen days thereafter, Calvin by the same person sent to France, more than twenty Latin letters, which he had received from Servetus, that he might the more easily be convicted of heresy: There is mention made of these letters in the sentence, that was pronounced against him at Vienne.”

(78) Apud Let us subjoin Mr. Alewoerde's account (78):
Bib. Raif.

t. 1. p.

383, 384.

“ Servetus very soon furnished Calvin with that favourable opportunity, the latter was seeking to attack him more dangerously; for, in the beginning of the year 1553, he published at Vienne, a very pernicious book. It is true that this book was published under a feigned name, since he there calls himself Villaneuve: but Calvin who detected what regarded Servetus by secret means, immediately knew that Servetus was the author of this book. Serving him-
“ self

reformed religion and lived at Geneva, kept a correspondence by letters,

“ self for that end, of a certain Lyonnese,
 “ called William Trie, who lived in Geneva;
 “ he made Servetus’s name publick, and that
 “ so effectually, that he was put in prison.
 “ That these things passed in this manner,
 “ and that Calvin was the sole cause of Ser-
 “ vetus’s imprisonment, besides what I have
 “ already said of the hatred he bore him, a
 “ great many other things put it beyond all
 “ doubt: First, the acts of the process itself,
 “ and the sentence pronounced against him
 “ by the judges of Vienne, evidently prove
 “ it. Add to that, Servetus relates this very
 “ thing, which is contained in these pieces.
 “ Jerom Bolsec confirms it likewise. All this
 “ is confirmed, and clearly explained by the
 “ dialogues between Vaticanus and Calvin,
 “ which were published against Calvin’s trea-
 “ tise, *de puniendis Hereticis*. From whence it
 “ appears likewise, that William Trie lived
 “ then at Geneva: besides, the magistrates of
 “ Vienne testified the same thing, by the
 “ messenger who came from the Genevese to
 “ them; that is, that Servetus had been put
 “ in prison at the instigation of the chief
 “ minister, which could mean no body else
 “ but Calvin.” Mr. d’Artigny has, if pos-
 “ sible, improved upon the rest (79); but we
 “ are obliged to him for publishing these pieces,
 “ which serve to confute himself and them
 “ likewise, after having said that Frellon fur-
 “ nished Calvin with a copy of Servetus’s book,

(79) Nov.
 Mem. de
 Hist. de
 Critic. t.
 2. p. 78,

he

letters, with one of his relations called Anthony Arney, established at

he adds, "That Calvin was extremely
 "shocked at the disdainful manner with
 "which he spoke of his person and works;
 "but joy soon succeeded this resentment,
 "when he found that Servetus himself gave
 "him an opportunity to destroy him, which
 "he had long sought after. There was then
 "at Geneva one William Trie, born at
 "Lyons, lately become a profelyte to the
 "pretended reformed religion. He kept a
 "correspondence by letters with one of his
 "relations called Anthony Arney, settled at
 "Lyons, who incessantly exhorted him to
 "return to the bosom of the Romish church.
 "Trie communicated Arney's letters to
 "Calvin, who dictated the answers to them.
 "It was by the help of this man that he
 "wanted to satiate his revenge: he made
 "him write a letter to his relation, in the
 "month of February, &c." At the end of
 this story comes William Trie's first letter,
 which Mr. d'Artigny intitles, as he does the
 rest of them, "Calvin's letter under the
 "name of William Trie." He gives them
 from the original, and we are obliged to in-
 sert them here, because they will furnish us
 with proofs against the historians of Servetus.
 Here is the first:

"Sir, my Cousin,
 "I thank you heartily for so many fine
 "remonstrances you have made, and don't
 "doubt

at Lyons. This last was continually exhorting him to re-enter
into

“doubt but you have acted from friendship,
“by endeavouring to bring me back to the
“place I have departed from; so much the
“more as I am not acquainted with letters as
“you are. I shall, however, do my best to
“satisfy you as to the points and articles
“which you alledge: God has given me,
“however, so much knowledge that I have
“something to answer. For God be praised,
“I am not so ill-founded as not to know,
“that the Church hath Jesus Christ for its
“Head, from which it never can be separated;
“and that it hath otherwise neither
“life nor salvation; and that above all, it
“cannot exist but in God’s Truth, which is
“contained in the Holy Scripture: and
“therefore, whatever you advance about the
“Church, I look upon as a perfect phantom
“except Jesus Christ presides in it, as having
“full authority, and that the word of God
“reigns there as the foundation and the
“substance, without which all your formalities
“go for nothing. I beg you will reflect
“upon the liberty I take with you, which is
“not only to defend my cause, but to give
“you an opportunity of thinking seriously by
“yourself. But to be short, I am astonished
“how you dare reproach me amongst other
“things, with our having no ecclesiastical
“discipline or order; and that our teachers
“have introduced a licentiousness, which
“throws every thing into confusion; and yet
“at

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into the bosom of the church of
Rome. Trie in answering him

February

“ at the same time, I can observe (blessed be
“ God) that vices are better corrected here
“ than among all your officials. And as to
“ the doctrine, and what concerns religion,
“ although there is more liberty here than
“ amongst you, nevertheless it is not permitted
“ to blaspheme the name of God, or that
“ doctrines or wicked opinions should be
“ sown without being repressed. To your
“ great confusion I can give you one example,
“ since I am forced to mention it, which is,
“ that with you they support a heretick, who
“ deserves to be burnt wherever he is found;
“ when I mention to you a heretick, I mean
“ one who shall be condemned by the papists,
“ as well as by us, at least he deserves to be
“ so: for albeit we may differ in opinion
“ about many things, yet we are still agreed,
“ that there are Three Persons in one Essence
“ of God; and that the Father hath begotten
“ the Son, who is his Eternal Wisdom before
“ all time, and that he hath had his Eternal
“ Virtue, which is his Holy Spirit. But
“ when a man shall say, that the Trinity
“ which we maintain, is a Cerberus, an in-
“ fernal Minister; and disgorge all the villa-
“ nies that possibly can be thought of, against
“ what the Scripture teaches of the eternal
“ Generation of the Son of God; and that
“ the Holy Spirit is the Efficacy of the Fa-
“ ther and the Son, and with open mouth
“ shall make a mock of all which the antient
“ doctors

February 26, 1553, reproaches
him for supporting amongst the
Roman

“doctors have taught, I beg to know what
“esteem and regard you can have for him?
“I say this to obviate all the replies you
“can make me, and that you don’t deceit-
“fully hold that for an error which we main-
“tain to be such: for what I have said you
“will not only acknowledge to be an error,
“but a detestable heresy, which is sufficient
“to abolish christianity; I am obliged to
“speak freely: What a shame is it that these
“are persecuted to death, who say, *That we*
“*must invoke One only God, in the name of*
“*Jesus Christ; That there is no other satisfac-*
“*tion but that which has been made in the*
“*Death and Passion of Jesus Christ; That*
“*there is no other purgatory but in his blood;*
“*That there is no other service agreeable to*
“*God but that which he commands and approves*
“*by his Word; That all pictures and images*
“*counterfeited by men, are so many idols which*
“*profane his Majesty; That we ought to keep*
“*the Sacraments after the usage appointed by*
“*Jesus Christ?* But to see that they are not
“content with putting such people simply to
“death, but that they should be cruelly
“burned. And yet behold him who shall
“call Jesus Christ an idol; who shall destroy
“all the foundations of faith; who shall
“gather together all the dreams of the
“ancient hereticks; who shall even condemn
“the baptism of little children, calling it a
“diabolical invention; and yet he shall have
“the

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Roman catholicks, such a dangerous heretick as Servetus; and to prove

“ the vogue amongst you, and be supported
 “ as if he had committed no fault. Where
 “ is, I pray you, the zeal you pretend to?
 “ and where is the wisdom of this fine Hier-
 “ archy you magnify so much? The man I
 “ speak of to you, has been condemned in
 “ all the churches which you reprove. In the
 “ mean time he is tolerated amongst you,
 “ even to the printing of his books; which
 “ are so full of blasphemy, that I need not
 “ say any thing more of them. This man
 “ is a Portuguese Spaniard, called Michael
 “ Servetus for his proper name, but at pre-
 “ sent he calls himself Villeneuve, practising
 “ physick. He has made some stay at Lyons;
 “ just now he is at Vienne, where the book
 “ I have mentioned, has been printed by a
 “ certain person who has directed the press,
 “ called Balthazard Arnoulet; and that you
 “ may not think I talk upon hearsay, I send
 “ you the first sheet as a specimen. You say,
 “ that such books as contain nothing else,
 “ but that, *we must keep to the pure simplicity*
 “ *of the Holy Scripture*, poison the world;
 “ and if they came from any other quarter,
 “ you would not suffer them; mean time
 “ you foster these poisons, which are enough
 “ to annihilate the Holy Scripture, and every
 “ article of the christian religion you believe.
 “ I had almost forgot myself by mentioning
 “ this example; for I have been four times
 “ longer than I thought, but the enormity
 “ of

prove to him what he advanced,
he sent him the title, index, and
the

“ of the case has made me go beyond bounds;
“ and for this reason I shall not be long upon
“ other matters; as in truth I don't see any
“ great necessity of answering you upon every
“ article. Only I intreat you to enter a little
“ further into your own conscience, that
“ you may judge yourself; so that when you
“ must appear before the great Judge, you
“ may not be condemned. For to say all in
“ one word, we have no other aim, except
“ to ask of God that he would hear us;
“ wherefore making an end for the present,
“ I shall pray to God that he may give you
“ ears to hear, and a heart to obey; that he
“ may take you in the mean time into his
“ holy keeping; recommending myself with
“ great sincerity, to your favour, and that of
“ my cousin, your brother. From Geneva,
“ February the 26th.”

This letter occasioned a prosecution against Servetus; but, as they could not in the mean while find sufficient matter to cause him to be arrested, Arneys had orders to write to Trie and desire him to send the treatise of *Christi-anismi Restitutio* entire; Ory the inquisitor dictated the letter himself. “ Calvin,” says Mr. d'Artigny, (80) “ charmed with finding (80) ub. “ that every thing succeeded according to his ^{supr. p.} “ desire, composed an answer in his confi- 92. “ dant's name, and sent other papers which “ were more than sufficient to convict Ville- “ neuve: the two following letters charac- “ terise

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the four first sheets of *Christianismi Restitutio*. Arneys piqued

to
 “terise this pretended reformer to perfection,
 “who with an external shew of great modera-
 “tion, and an ardent zeal for religion, me-
 “ditated nothing else but revenge for per-
 “sonal injuries.” We see that Mr. d’Ar-
 tigny is highly delighted with the evil he
 believes he can say of Calvin, and we shall
 see below, that he publishes it with as
 much assurance as it is ill-founded; let us
 proceed to the other two letters which we
 can’t suppress without doing an injury to
 truth: here is the second.

“Sir, my Cousin,
 “When I wrote you the letter which
 “you communicated to these who were taxed
 “in it with cowardice, I did not think the
 “matter would have gone so far; my sole
 “intention was to remonstrate against the
 “flaming zeal and devotion of those who
 “call themselves Pillars of the Church, while
 “they suffer such disorder amongst them,
 “and mean while so cruelly persecute these
 “poor christians who desire to follow God in
 “simplicity: and since the example was so
 “notorious, and that I was advertised of it,
 “I thought it gave me a very natural occa-
 “sion to mention it in my letters in the
 “manner I have done; but since you have
 “published what I only wrote you privately,
 “God grant for the best, that it may tend to
 “purge christianity from such ordures; con-
 sidering

no doubt, with his friend's reproaches, communicated the letter and

“sidering what deadly plagues they are, if
“they are so much inclined to be employed
“this way as you say, the thing does not
“appear to me to be very different, although
“for the present you can't furnish them
“with that which you desire, viz. the printed
“book. But I shall put into your hands
“more than enough to convict him, viz.
“two dozen of pieces written by the person
“in question, where a part of his heresies
“are contained; if he is confronted with
“the printed book he may deny it, that
“which he cannot do with his own hand-
“writing. And so the people you mention,
“having the thing fully proved, can have
“no excuse if they dissemble or delay taking
“proper measures any longer. As for the
“rest, the large book, as also the other
“treatise, written with the author's hand,
“are here; but I must confess one thing to
“you, that I had a great deal of trouble to
“get what I sent you out of Mr. Calvin's
“hands, not that he does not desire, that
“such execrable heresies should not be sup-
“pressed, but because he thinks that as he
“does not bear the sword of justice, his duty
“consists rather in exposing heresies by
“doctrine, than persecuting them by such
“means. But I have importuned him so
“much, remonstrating to him the reproach
“of levity which I would certainly incur, if
“he did give me his assistance: at last he
“agreed

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and the sheets which accompanied it, to Matthew Ory inquisitor,

“ agreed to give me what you see; besides
 “ this, I hope when the cause shall be in a
 “ better train, to recover in time about a
 “ quire of that very paper which the gentle-
 “ man has caused to be printed. But for the
 “ present I think you sufficiently furnished
 “ with good materials, and you will find no
 “ difficulty of having more than enough for
 “ seizing his person, and commencing his
 “ process. As for myself, I pray God that he
 “ would open the eyes of those who speak so
 “ wickedly, in order to learn to judge more
 “ favourably of the inclination which moves
 “ us. As for that part of your letter wherein
 “ it appears, that you are not willing to
 “ enter any further upon the subject of our
 “ former correspondence; I shall endeavour
 “ likewise, not to give you any trouble on
 “ that head, hoping that God at last will
 “ make you sensible, that I have not taken
 “ this step rashly; recommending myself to
 “ your favour, and praying God to keep you
 “ in his. Geneva, March the 26th.” Let
 us add to this, William Trie’s third letter.

“ Sir, my Cousin,

“ I hope that I shall have satisfied you in
 “ part, as to what you have asked me,
 “ sending you the hand-writing of him who
 “ has composed the book, and in the last of
 “ these letters which you have received, you
 “ will find that he has confessed his name,
 “ which

fitor, whom Cardinal de Tournon
archbishop and governor of Lyons,
had

“ which he had disguised, but he excuses
“ himself in calling himself Villeneuve, since
“ that his name is Servetus, alias Reves,
“ saying that he took his name from the city
“ where he was born; besides if it please
“ God, I shall keep my promise, that if
“ there is any need for it, I shall furnish you
“ with these treatises which he has caused to be
“ printed, and written with his own hand,
“ as well as the letters: I would have had a
“ great deal of trouble in getting hold of
“ them if they had been in this city, but
“ they have been at Lusanne these two years.
“ If Mr. Calvin had had them, I believe of
“ whatever consequence they were, he would
“ have immediately remitted them to the
“ author. But since he has addressed letters
“ to others also, these have kept them. I
“ have even heard formerly that the aforesaid
“ gentleman (Calvin) having given answers
“ sufficient to content any reasonable man,
“ seeing that he could gain nothing in a work
“ of this kind, he would not condescend to read
“ any more upon the subject; as it was already
“ stuffed with stupid fancies and nonsense, while
“ the other did nothing else but repeat always
“ the same song: and that you may know
“ that it is not just now, that this unhappy
“ man has spared no pains to trouble the
“ church, endeavouring to mislead the igno-
“ rant with himself; it is more than twenty
“ four years ago that they have turned him
“ out,

J. G.

had ordered to come from Rome to watch over the hereticks; Ory having examined the pieces in question, with Benedict Buatier Vicar General to the Cardinal; they resolved to advertise this prelate, who was then in his castle of Roussilon, three leagues below Vienne,

“ out, and driven him from the principal
 “ churches in Germany, and if he had found
 “ any place of rest, he would never have left
 “ it. Amongst the letters of Oecolampadius,
 “ the first and second are addressed to him in
 “ a title which very properly belongs to him,
 “ *Serveto Hispano neganti Christum esse Dei*
 “ *filium, consubstantialem Patri*: Melancton
 “ talks of him in some passages likewise,
 “ but I think that you have a very easy proof
 “ from what I have sent you, to proceed
 “ farther, at least for a beginning. As to the
 “ printer, I have not told you the marks
 “ whereby we understand that it was Bal-
 “ thazard Arnoullet and William Gueroult
 “ his brother-in-law; but there is sufficient
 “ proofs to confirm it, and indeed he cannot
 “ deny it; very possibly this shall be at the
 “ author's charge, and that he shall take all
 “ the copies into his own hand, but you will
 “ find that the impression is come from the
 “ shop that I have mentioned. As to what
 “ the messenger desires to be dispatched im-
 “ mediately,

Vienne, the inquisitor wrote the 12th of March to Mr. de Villars, the Cardinal's auditor, that he might give information to the prelate; this last conjunctly with this Grand Vicar, and with Lewis Arzellier, Grand Vicar of the Archbishop of Vienne, whom he had ap-

"mediately, having delivered me your letters
 "very late, for fear I suppose, that I should
 "answer you to the purpose; wherefore I
 "desire you will excuse my hurry. I believe
 "I forgot to write to you, that after you
 "shall have used the letters, you will not
 "suffer them to be scattered, that they may
 "be returned to me: and here I shall make
 "an end at present, always recommending
 "myself to your kind favour, without for-
 "getting my cousin your brother, being
 "glad that God has blessed him with an
 "offspring as you write to me. May God
 "by his Holy Spirit direct you to do what
 "is agreeable to him, From Geneva the
 "last of March."

After giving the originals themselves, it is incumbent on me to prove what I have said, that there is a great deal of partiality in what is published about Calvin on this subject, and that many things are advanced without proofs.

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appointed, took proper measures and wrote to Mr. de Maugiron, Lieutenant General for the King in Dauphine, for whom he made the necessary search at Vienne. They began the process against Servetus March 16, who is always called Michael de Villeneuve; the

I. I observe that if Calvin had caused Servetus to be arrested at Vienne, he would not have denied it, according to the principles he then had. "If it had been," says he, (81) Declaration "really objected to me, (81) that I had made &c. p. 54. "him publicly known in order to have "him punished by any person whatsoever, "I would not have denied it; and don't "think that could have turned out to my "dishonour." A man who talks in this strain deserves to be believed, and we ought not to tax him with lying for the pleasure of it, without a demonstration.

II. The personal hatred which they ascribe to Calvin against Servetus, is purely imaginary, and contradicted even by facts. Calvin detested Servetus with respect to his opinions, but we have no proof that he hated his person. They pretend that it was the *Cbristianismi Restitutio* which determined Calvin to destroy Servetus. But in the year 1546, he had sent a MS. of this book to the divine of Geneva, or, according to others, a MS. at least

the judges ordered him to Mr. de Maugiron's house, interrogated him, and afterwards examined his papers. As Arnoullet was absent, the judges ordered William Gueroult his brother-in-law director and corrector of the press, to attend; but they could not draw

least of the same kind; and they assure us that when Calvin conceived such an implacable hatred against him, that he wrote to Viret and Farel in 1547, that he should cause him to lose his life if he could find him (82). ^{(82) Vid. Rem. (I)} Behold however, six years run, during which time the vindictive Calvin suffers Servetus to live in peace; the means of revenging himself however, were not wanting, since he had in his hands the same pieces upon which they alledge, that this Physician had been condemned at Vienne. He has a MS. of *Restitutio Christianismi*, or at least something of that kind. He has letters of Servetus, if it was by them that Calvin wanted to serve himself, as means of destroying Servetus, why did he delay producing these materials till the year 1553? Would they not have done the same injury to Servetus in the year 1547, that they did him six years after? Here we don't see that implacable hatred which the historians of Servetus so freely ascribe to Calvin; add to this the manner

draw any information from him ; and as little by visiting his house, his printing-house, and his papers, or by the questions they asked the printer's boys separately. March 18, Arnoullet being returned, was interrogated, but to no purpose ; so that they came to this sentence,

“ That

manner in which this divine expresses himself in his answer to Servetus, and which we have related above (58). Mr. d'Artigny says, “ That Calvin was exceedingly shocked at “ the disdainful manner wherewith they talked “ of his person and his works.” But I don't know any place in this work where there is any particular question about Calvin and his works, except the letters which Calvin had a long time after.

III. Mr. d'Alwoerden doubly deceives himself in saying that Servetus published his book under the feigned name of Villeneufœ, and that Calvin made his true name known, *reclum nomen*. Mr. de la Chapelle likewise has believed without foundation, (83) that the (83) Bibl. Raïson. t. 1. p. 387. Sieur Villeneufœ had put his name at the head of the book, but he had reason to correct the historian of Servetus as to the imputation he throws upon Calvin. The name of Villeneuve was not unknown to the magistrates of Vienne ; on the contrary, Servetus was known by this name only at Vienne ;

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“ That there was not as yet sufficient evidence for an imprisonment.” But they resolved to oblige Arneys to write to his friend at Geneva, to send him the whole book, *Christianismi Restitutio*. Instead of the book which Trie could not get, he sent some letters

Vienne; there was therefore no necessity for making it known, that Villeneuve was Servetus; so far from that, we find in our Spaniard's second interrogatory, that he pretends not to be Servetus, but only the Sieur de Villeneuve. He was the very person who had been imprisoned, interrogated, and sentenced; Calvin is therefore accused very improperly, of a thing which was quite useless, since the name of Villeneuve had been on the title-page of his book, every body must have known him at Vienne.

IV. It is asserted with great assurance, that Calvin caused Trie to write, that he is the author of the letters of this proselyte, and had dictated them; but where is the proof of this fact? Has Mr. d'Artigny who tells us that he has the originals of these letters, given proofs of what he advances? What is published with respect to this, takes its rise from the dialogues, *inter Vaticanum et Calvinum*. We read there what follows (84): (84) ib.

¶ Cum Michael Servetus curaret libros suos

G 4

“ imprimi

letters of Servetus's. to Calvin, which he prevailed upon this divine to give him. April 4, there was held a grand meeting at the castle of Rouffillon, and after a mature examination, it was concluded, that Michael de Villeneuve physician, and Balthazard Arnoullet

“imprimi Viennæ, fuit quidam Lugdunensis, Genevæ habitans, qui literas scripsit ad quendam Lugdunensem amicum suum, Lugduni habitantem, in quibus literis inter cætera scribebat talia, *Nos non favemus hæreticis, cum vos patiamini apud vos Michaelem Servetum, hominem maxime hæreticum, qui facit imprimi libros plenos errorum, et is est nunc Viennæ in tali domo, &c.* Has literas qui viderunt putant scriptas fuisse a Calvino ob stylum similem, nec tantam Lugdunensis illius eloquentiam ut potuerit tam diserte scribere, ipse quidem Lugdunensis dixit fuisse a se factas. Fuerunt autem de industria ita missæ, sicut nobis narrarunt qui ipsi has literas viderunt ut venirent in manus magistratus, atque adeo ipsius Cardinalis Turnonii, i. e. When Servetus was taking care of the printing of his books at Vienne, there was a certain Lyonese living at Geneva, who wrote a letter to a certain Lyonese his friend, living at Lyons, wherein he said; *We don't*
“favour

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Arnoullet bookseller, "Should be
" taken into custody, made and
" detained prisoners, to answer
" upon their sincerity, the charges
" and informations laid against
" them." About six o'clock in
the evening the Archbishop of
Vienne's Grand Vicar ordered
Arnoullet

*"favour hereticks, while you tolerate amongst
" you Michael Servetus, a very great heretick;
" who causes books to be printed which are full
" of errors. He is just now at Vienne, lodged
" in such a house, &c. Those who have seen
" this letter, believe that it was written by
" Calvin, on account of the likeness of the
" style; as the Lyonnese was not orator
" enough to write so elegantly. The Lyon-
" nese said, however, that they were written
" by himself, and as those have told us who
" have seen them, they were sent in such a
" way, as that they should fall into the hands
" of the magistrates, and consequently into
" the hands of Cardinal de Tournon."*
Observe here, that Calvin's cotemporaries
only suspected that he was the author of the
letters, and yet Mess. de la Roche, d'All-
woerde, and d'Artigny, more than two cen-
turies after, are perfectly sure that they were
dictated by Calvin. Observe also, that William
Trie affirms, that he is the author of them;
that Calvin does not ascribe them to himself,
and

LIFE OF SERVETUS.

Arnoullet to be arrested, who was carried to the Archbishop's prison. At the same time the Vice-bailiff went to Mr. de Maugiron's house, where Michael de Villeneuve was waiting on the said gentleman in his sickness, he told him that there were a great many sick and wounded

and that Arneys does not declare that he suspected that his relation had borrowed the assistance of another, notwithstanding of all which, they are positive that Calvin had written and dedicated these letters, for which no reason can be given except that they are determined at any rate to make him odious. What is said about the style, signifies little except they had some other of William Trie's letters, and I can't see upon what foundation they can conclude, that these which were written with his hand are not his own.

V. Let us examine the letters themselves, and we shall find that they sufficiently intimate their true author. We see by the first, that Arneys had attacked Trie upon changing his religion, &c. that he had amongst other things reproached him, "That amongst the reformed there was neither ecclesiastical discipline, nor order; and that their teachers had introduced a licence, to throw every thing into confusion." The proselyte answers, and takes occasion from what he knew about

wounded prisoners in the palace of Dauphine, and begged of him that he would go along with him, and visit them. Servetus consented, and when he was making his visits, the Vice-bailiff sent to the Grand Vicar, desiring he would come and join them; when he

about Servetus, to retort the reproaches he had thrown upon him, and quickly to recriminate in his turn. Is there any thing more simple, and must we go about to find a great deal of mystery in it? And what is the whole affair? This friend at Lyons piqued without doubt, at the reproach thrown upon his church, communicates his letter to a vigilant inquisitor; steps are taken, they want to know more of the matter, they cause him to write to Trie; what does this last answer? That he is surpris'd that his relation had shewn his letter, that he had not mentioned Servetus but to return his reproaches, and to shew the injustice of persecuting the reformed, while they tolerated people of such a character as Servetus. All this is very far from what is pretended, that the letter had been written with a design to make it fall into the hands of the magistrates and Cardinal de Tournon. We must not forget that if Calvin himself had formed an intrigue to destroy Servetus, he would have turned his view towards Vienne,

he arrived, they acquainted the Physician, that he was their prisoner, and was to answer to the charges and informations laid against him; they ordered the jaylor to use him civilly, according to his rank; they left with him his valet, called Benedict Perrin,

Vienne, as it was there where he was to attack him; Father Niceron has made a reflection on this, without adverting to the consequence: "We see but too well," says he, "the reason why he wrote to Lyons rather than Vienne, since it was in the last city where Servetus lived, and where his book was printed." As there was really no reason which could engage Calvin to transact this affair at Lyons, it is a proof that he did not act in it at all; and that there was nothing but what was very simple in the correspondence between Trie and his relation.

VI. What shall we say of the original letters of Servetus to Calvin, sent to Lyons in order to convict him? This has made a great deal of noise, and one would think that the whole cause was to depend upon it. Let us examine what there is in it: 1. It is certain that Calvin did not send them from any motive of his own, and that he made a great deal of difficulty to give them up, and that Trie very earnestly solicited him to furnish him

Perrin, aged fifteen years, who had been five years in his service ; and

him with something to prove what he had asserted, " I must confess one thing," says he, " to you, that I had a great deal of trouble to get what I send you out of Mr. Calvin's hands.—But I have importuned him so much, remonstrating to him the reproach of levity which I would certainly incur, if he did not assist me, at last he agreed to give me what you see." Nothing is more natural ; Trie is required to give fuller proofs of what he had written, by way of recrimination : he was afraid of being suspected of having asserted too much ; he knew that Calvin had kept a correspondence with Servetus ; he begs of him to put him in the way of getting clear of this suspicion, and at last he obtains what he had desired. If Calvin can be blamed at all, it is his giving up these pieces too easily ; but really Servetus could not make any thing of that, since he had caused them to be printed : besides he himself consented that they should be required of Calvin, in a paper which he presented to the magistrates of Geneva intituled, *Articles upon which Michael Servetus requires that John Calvin shall be interrogated*, the 4th article is in these words, " If about fifteen days after the said letter, &c. there were sent besides, by the said Trie more than twenty Latin letters, which the said Servetus had written him, and he had sent them, besides the rest, at the request of others, that the said

— Servetus

and that day his friends had the liberty of seeing him (p). Servetus was

(p) d'Ar-
tig. ub.
supr. p.
78, 100.

"Servetus might with the greater certainty, be accused and convicted, as it afterwards (85) Bibl. "happened." (85) Mr. de la Chapelle has commented upon this, and made some p. 150. conjectures that are very ill-founded (86): (86) Bibl. Raif. t. 1. It is a certain truth that Calvin gave up nothing without being required, and that with great importunity. 2. It appears by the two examinations Servetus underwent, that these pieces alone would not have been sufficient to have condemned him in a rigorous manner. 3. His evasion makes more against him, than the letters received from Geneva: it augmented, and that justly, their suspicions; gave occasion to new enquiries whereby the copies of the *Restitutio Christianismi* were discovered; the affair was examined more thoroughly, and it appears by the sentence, "That the pieces in vindication of the here-
"fies of Servetus are different from the
"letters and writings under the hand of the
"said Villeneuve, addressed to Mr. John
"Calvin preacher at Geneva." Although these letters had never existed, Servetus would not have been the less condemned. The remarks which I have made won't allow me to give credit to what is related by the author of the dialogues between *Vaticanum et Calvinum*; that the magistrates of Vienne in putting into the messenger of Geneva's hands; the copy of their sentence against Servetus; added, "That Servetus had fallen into their
"hands,

was therefore arrested on the 4th of April, and not in the beginning of June, according to Mr. la Roche (q). (N) The 5th and (q)loc.cit. 6th he was interrogated. After^{p. 103.}

the
“ hands, by the information of the chief
“ preacher at Geneva.” This must be false,
since at least it would have been by the infor-
mation of Tric; but this calumny is founded
on the supposition, that Calvin was the author
of the profelyte's letters. However, to dis-
mount all the batteries of Calvin's enemies,
nothing else is requested, but plainly and
simply to deny this fact, and to demand the
proofs of it.

(N) *The 5th. and 6th. he was interrogated.]*
Mr. d'Artigny (87) has furnished us with (87) Nov.
these two examinations which deserve a place Mem. t. 3.
here, both on account of the facts they con- p. 101,
tain, and because of several particulars of &c.
Servetus's disingenuity in many things.

Examination I.

“ The fifth of the month of April one
“ thousand five hundred and fifty three years,
“ We, brother Matthew Ory, Doctor of
“ Divinity, Penitentiary of the Holy Apol-
“ tolick See, Inquisitor General of the Faith,
“ in the kingdom of France, and over all
“ the Gauls: Lewis Arbzelier Doctor of
“ Law, Vicar General of the most reverend
“ Lord

LIFE OF SERVETUS.

the second examination Servetus
sent Perrin to the monastery of St.
Peter,

“ Lord Mr. Peter Palmer, Archbishop of
“ Vienne; Anthony de la Court, Lord of
“ the Tour de Bois, Doctor of Law, Vice
“ Bailiff, and Lieutenant General of the
“ Balliwick of Vienne; we being come to
“ the prison of the Dauphinal palace of
“ Vienne, and there in the justiciary court,
“ ordered to compear before us Michael de
“ Villeneuve, graduated physician constituted
“ prisoner according to our orders, to the
“ prisons of the said Dauphinal palace, and
“ have interrogated him as follows :

“ And after the said Villeneuve had com-
“ peared before us, we remonstrated to him,
“ that in the exercise of our duty through the
“ kingdom, we had found something against
“ him, which, according to the duties of our
“ office, he was bound to answer us, which
“ he promised to do; and after having
“ taken the oath upon the Holy Evangelist,
“ we asked his name, he said that his name
“ was Michael de Villeneuve, Doctor of
“ Physic, two and forty years old, or thereby,
“ a native of Tudelle in the kingdom of
“ Navarre, which is a city under the em-
“ peror's jurisdiction; at present an inhabi-
“ tant of Vienne for twelve years past, or
“ thereby.

“ Being interrogated where he lived after
“ he left his own country? he answered, that
“ about seven or eight and twenty years ago,
“ sometime before the Emperor went from
Spain

Peter, to ask the Grand Prior if he had brought him the three hundred

“ Spain to be crowned, he entered into the
 “ service of one Quintin the Emperor’s Con-
 “ fessor, being only fourteen or fifteen years
 “ old at that time. He went with the said
 “ Confessor amongst the Emperor’s train to
 “ Italy, where he saw him crowned at Bo-
 “ logna; and then followed the said Con-
 “ fessor into Germany, where he lived about
 “ a year: and after the death of the said
 “ Quintin, he lived alone without any
 “ master; thence he came to Paris, and staid
 “ in the college of Calvi for some time;
 “ after this he went to read Mathematicks in
 “ Lombard college; and after he left Paris
 “ he went to Lyons, where he lived for some
 “ time, and from thence to Avignon, from
 “ Avignon to Lyons, and from Lyons to
 “ Charlieu; where he continued three years
 “ practising Physick, and then he returned
 “ to Lyons, where he found my Lord of
 “ Vienne, and my Lord of St. Maurice;
 “ who made him come to Vienne, where he
 “ has remained to the present time.

“ Being interrogated, if he caused any
 “ books to be printed? answered, that he
 “ caused a book to be printed at Paris,
 “ intituled, *Syroporum universa Ratio ad Galeni*
 “ *Censuram*; and likewise another small book,
 “ intituled, *Apologetica Dissertatio pro Astro-*
 “ *logia*; and another called in *Leonartium*
 “ *Fusinum, Apologia pro Symphoriano Campegio.*
 “ And *Annotations upon Ptolemy’s Geo-*
 H “ *graphy,*

hundred Crowns due to him from St. Andrews, and the Grand Prior came and delivered him the said sum; there was in the prison a garden with a platform, which looked towards the court of justice in

“ *graphy*, and said, that he never caused
 “ any other book to be printed of his own
 “ composition; confessing however, that he
 “ had corrected a great many without dimi-
 “ nishing or adding any thing of his own.
 “ Whereupon having shewn him two
 “ sheets of paper, printed on both sides,
 “ and some of his hand-writing upon the
 “ margin; representing to him, that there
 “ were some propositions in these written
 “ notes, which might give offence, but
 “ owning at the same time, that he who had
 “ written and made them, may be allowed
 “ to interpret and explain how he understands
 “ them; for this reason he was asked how
 “ he understood one of these propositions,
 “ which said, *Justificantur ergo Parvuli sine*
 “ *Christi Fide, prodigium monstrum Dæmonium*;
 “ representing to him, that if he understood
 “ thereby that little children had not the
 “ Grace of Jesus Christ by regeneration,
 “ more perfectly than they partake of Adam’s
 “ sin by terrestrial generation, it would be
 “ doing an injury to Jesus Christ, requiring
 “ him to declare to us what he understood
 “ by it: to which he answered, That he firmly
 “ believed,

in the palace ; above this platform was a hog-stie whereby one could get down to the corner of the wall, and thence get into the court. Although the garden was always kept shut, yet sometimes they

“ believed, that the Grace of Jesus Christ
“ came by the regeneration of baptism,
“ surmounts the sin of Adam, as the Apostle
“ says, *ad Romanos quinto, Ubi abundavit De-*
“ *lictum, superabundavit Gratia:* and that
“ little children are saved, without any
“ acquired faith by baptism, having faith
“ always infused into them by the Holy
“ Spirit ; and upon our representing to him
“ that he ought to correct some words written
“ with his own hand on the above sheets,
“ which he promised to do ; saying he could
“ not know by the first view, whether it was
“ his or not, considering the length of time
“ since it was written ; but taking a narrower
“ look of it, said he believed he had written
“ it ; and if any thing be found there against
“ the faith, he submits it to the determination
“ of our holy mother the Church, from which
“ he never had, nor never would depart ;
“ and said if any other thing is written there,
“ he did it thoughtlessly, or by way of dis-
“ pute, without seriously weighing it ; and
“ since that time he was desirous to look
“ more carefully into what he had written
“ on the two sheets abovementioned, and to

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 “ any other book to be printed of his own
 “ composition; confessing however, that he
 “ had corrected a great many without diminishing or adding any thing of his own.
 “ Whereupon having shewn him two
 “ sheets of paper, printed on both sides,
 “ and some of his hand-writing upon the
 “ margin; representing to him, that there
 “ were some propositions in these written
 “ notes, which might give offence, but
 “ owning at the same time, that he who had
 “ written and made them, may be allowed
 “ to interpret and explain how he understands
 “ them; for this reason he was asked how
 “ he understood one of these propositions,
 “ which said, *Iustificantur ergo Parvuli sine*
 “ *Christi Fide, prodigium monstrum Demonium*;
 “ representing to him, that if he understood
 “ thereby that little children had not the
 “ Grace of Jesus Christ by regeneration,
 “ more perfectly than they partake of Adam’s
 “ sin by terrestrial generation, it would be
 “ doing an injury to Jesus Christ, requiring
 “ him to declare to us what he understood
 “ by it: to which he answered, That he firmly
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 “ surmounts the sin of Adam, as the Apostle
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 “ *lictum, superabundavit Gratia* : and that
 “ little children are saved, without any
 “ acquired faith by baptism, having faith
 “ always infused into them by the Holy
 “ Spirit ; and upon our representing to him
 “ that he ought to correct some words written
 “ with his own hand on the above sheets,
 “ which he promised to do ; saying he could
 “ not know by the first view, whether it was
 “ his or not, considering the length of time
 “ since it was written ; but taking a narrower
 “ look of it, said he believed he had written
 “ it ; and if any thing be found there against
 “ the faith, he submits it to the determination
 “ of our holy mother the Church, from which
 “ he never had, nor never would depart ;
 “ and said if any other thing is written there,
 “ he did it thoughtlessly, or by way of dis-
 “ pute, without seriously weighing it ; and
 “ since that time he was desirous to look
 “ more carefully into what he had written
 “ on the two sheets abovementioned, and to

they allowed the freedom of it to prisoners above the common rank, either to walk or for other reasons. Servetus having gone in there in the evening, examined every thing narrowly. On the 7th of April he

(88) It
ought to
be read,
*Nous les
avons fait
parapher.*

“ give us his meaning or interpretation of
“ it; declaring to us that if there was any
“ other thing which might be taken ill, or
“ suspected of false doctrine, in representing
“ it to him he was ready to correct it. And
“ that these two sheets may not be altered,
“ we have ordered them to be marked, (88)
“ by the secretary and the said Villeneuve,
“ and are marked page 421, 423, 424, and
“ the title is *De Baptismo*, cap. xvii. and
“ with the said answers containing three
“ sheets including the present. We have
“ compared them in his presence, and they
“ are subscribed Michael de Villeneuve.”

De Baptismo cap. xvii. I don't know what sheets these were, they could not be those of *Christianismi Restitutio*; for in this work in the pages cited, he does not speak of Baptism, and in all the book there is no chapter *de Baptismo* cap. xvii. they must have been sheets of some treatise, on which Servetus had written notes, and which did not come from Geneva, but were probably found in his house: Trie says in express words, that he had sent the first sheet of the book, but that is not mentioned here at all.

he got up at four o'clock in the morning, and asked the key from the jaylor, who going away to work amongst his vines; this last observing that he had a night-cap on his head, and in his night-gown,

Examination II.

"The sixth of the said month of April,
 "We the Inquisitors and Vicars aforesaid,
 "being come to the prison of the Dauphinal
 "palace, and having ordered the above-
 "mentioned Mr. Michael de Villeneuve to
 "compear before us, and after having taken
 "the oath upon the Holy Evangelist to
 "declare the truth, was interrogated by us
 "as follows:

"First, how he understood a proposition
 "of a letter in a bundle marked (*Epistola*
 "xv. a.) where he explains a living faith
 "and a dead faith? and because the said
 "letter appeared to us sufficiently catholick,
 "and contrary to the errors of Geneva, we
 "made him read it; and after having read
 "it, we asked him how he understood these
 "words? *Mori autem sensum dicitur, in nobis*
 "*fides, quando tolluntur vestimenta*, who an-
 "swered, *Vestimenta fidei sunt opera charitatis*
 "*et virtutis.*"

"Secondly, we shewed him another letter
 "marked xvi, which is *de libero Arbitrio*,

gown, did not suspect that he was dressed, and his hat concealed under the night-gown, gave him the key, and went out a little afterwards with his workmen. When Servetus thought they were at

“ against those who are for *servum Arbitrium*,
 “ which he read likewise, and shedding tears,
 “ he spoke these words: Gentlemen, I will
 “ tell you the truth; as these letters were
 “ written when I was in Germany, about
 “ five and twenty years ago, there was
 “ printed in Germany a book of one called
 “ Servetus, a Spaniard; but otherwise I
 “ don’t know from what place of Spain he
 “ was, nor what place of Germany he lived
 “ in; probably, hearing it had been said
 “ that he was at Aganon; (89) the book
 “ might have been printed there, at the said
 “ city of Aganon, four leagues from Stras-
 “ burg. And after having read the said book
 “ in Germany, being then but fifteen or
 “ seventeen years old, it appeared to him
 “ that he wrote as well, or better than
 “ others: with all this leaving Germany, he
 “ came to France, not bringing any books
 “ whatsoever along with him, intending
 “ only to study Medicine and Mathematicks,
 “ which he has always done since. Mean
 “ while hearing that Calvin was in great
 “ esteem amongst some who said that he was
 “ a very learned man; from the curiosity he
 “ had,

at a proper distance, he left his cap of black velvet, and his furred night-gown at the foot of a tree, jumped from the terrace to the hog-stie, and got into the court without hurting himself in the least ;

“ had, wanting to write to him without
 “ making any acquaintance with him, and
 “ actually did write to him, begging that
 “ this should remain between him and me
 “ only *sub sigillo secreti*, and as a brotherly cor-
 “ rection to see if he could make me change
 “ my opinion, or if I could make him change
 “ his; for I could not submit to his assertion.
 “ And in this way proposed to him certain
 “ questions, *gravis Disputationis*, and he gave
 “ me an answer; and seeing my questions
 “ were taken from what Servetus had
 “ written, he told me that I was that very
 “ Serverus; upon which I replied, that
 “ although I was not that person, yet in
 “ disputing with him, I was willing to per-
 “ sonate Servetus, and to answer him as Ser-
 “ vetus; for I was not very much concerned
 “ for whom he took me; only let us debate
 “ upon our opinions, and upon these terms
 “ we exchanged letters, till we were both
 “ piqued, and abused one another. Ob-
 “ serving this, I gave him over, and for ten
 “ years or thereby, I have not written to him
 “ nor he to me, protesting before God and
 “ you Gentlemen, that I was never disposed

least; he got quickly to the gate of the bridge of the Rhone, which was not very far from the prison, and got into the Lionnese. They did not know of his escape till more than two hours there-

“ to dogmatize or maintain any thing of
 “ that kind, which might be found against
 “ the church or the christian religion. And
 “ as to the third letter being the xviii, con-
 “ cerning the baptism of little children,
 “ supposing he had been formerly of opinion,
 “ that he thought that *Parvuli Carnis non*
 “ *erant capaces Domini Spiritus*; he has left off
 “ all that long ago, and desires to regulate
 “ himself by what the church maintains.

“ And after having shewn him another
 “ epistle intituled, xxvii, which he seem-
 “ ingly acknowledged, and said that he had
 “ written it in disputing in behalf of the
 “ said Servetus; not that he adhered to it,
 “ or believed it, but only to see what Calvin
 “ would think or say to the contrary; and
 “ the argument of the said epistle is, *de Tri-*
 “ *nitate et Generatione filii Dei*, after the man-
 “ ner of the said Servetus's book.

“ And after having shewn him another
 “ epistle intituled, xviii, where he disputes
 “ against the said Calvin, *de carne Christi*
 “ *glorificata, quæ absorbetur a gloria Divini-*
 “ *tatis*, more plainly and fully than at the
 “ transfiguration. He said that he had
 “ addressed

thereafter; there were very diligent searches made to discover him; they wrote to the magistrates of Lyons and other cities, where they presumed Servetus might have fled, and seized upon all

“ addressed himself to Calvin, when he was
“ in a place where he had the fullest liberty
“ to say every thing he thought, and to
“ answer all my questions, signed Michael de
“ Villeneuve.

“ The same day, the 6th of April, before
“ us Inquisitor of the Faith and Vicar General
“ afore said, and we Anthony de la
“ Court, Vice Bailiff of the Viennois above-
“ named; recalling the afore said Villeneuve,
“ and administering the oath so as above,
“ and after reading the answers made this
“ day by him, abovementioned, to which he
“ adhered, and said they contained the truth,
“ and has subscribed the two parcels of letters
“ mentioned in the said answers; which he
“ has put a mark upon, and being marked
“ likewise by our secretary, *ne varientur*.

“ This being done, we shewed him and
“ put into his hands a parcel of fourteen
“ letters, containing ten sheets; and having
“ intimated to him, that we found some-
“ thing written therein which was incum-
“ bent on him to answer; after having
“ taken and looked at them, he told us, that
“ he had written these fourteen epistles a
“ long

all his effects. It is believed, that the Vice Bailiff being an intimate friend of Servetus, favoured his escape; but there is no proof of this, neither was the jailor an accomplice of his flight. The process begun, however, was carried on, and June 17, he was condemned to be burned alive in a
 flow

“ long time ago to Calvin, that he might
 “ know what he thought of them only by
 “ way of dispute; as he had said already,
 “ without adhering to any thing contained in
 “ them, except what shall be approved by
 “ the church, and his honourable judges.
 “ And as to the contents of the said epistles,
 “ he is ready to answer us when we please,
 “ as to any article we shall interrogate him
 “ upon; which we promised him we should
 “ do, after having extracted the principal
 “ points where it appears to us there is an
 “ error against the faith; and in the mean
 “ time, we have caused to be marked the
 “ said bundle, containing ten sheets, and
 “ fourteen epistles; and at the beginning is
 “ written as a title, *Michaelis Epistolæ quatuordecim*; and to the narration, *Jesum illum Nazarenum*; and at the end is written,
 “ *Utinam in Christo valeas et hæc diligentius mediteris. Amen.*

“ And

slow fire (O) ; and the sentence was executed in effigy the same day.

“ And the contents as above, have been subscribed by us, Inquisitor, Vicar, Vice Bailiff, President :

“ MATTHEW ORY, Inquisitor General.

“ ARZELIER, Vicar.

“ DE LA COURT, Vice Bailiff, and Delphinal Judge.”

We see clearly that Servetus in many things endeavoured to delude his judges, which he did so artfully, that they could not condemn him to any rigorous punishment upon the papers they had in their hands. By distinguishing himself from Servetus, as a man unknown to him, whatever was found against Servetus, could not be imputed to him; by saying, that he had personated Servetus only for the sake of disputing against Calvin. He weakened very much the proof these letters furnished, and they could at most, only blame him for rashness and imprudence in maintaining heretical propositions; and the excuse for that, was the submission he testified for the church. He does not appear at this time to be in a disposition to hazard his life for his sentiments, which will furnish us with a very strong proof, that his stiffness upon this article at Geneva, arose from some other principle than an attachment to his opinions.

(O) *Condemned to be burned alive in a slow fire.*] The obligation for being so well instructed

day. The effigy of Servetus was put upon a dung cart with five bales

instructed in this whole procedure, is due to Mr. d'Artigny, which throws a great deal of light upon Servetus's history; see what he tells us (90), the rest of the month of April, they were busy in making a new examination of the books, papers, and letters of Villeneuve and Arnoullet, and copying the epistles addressed to Calvin; the originals being deposited in the Secretary's office. They let the Inquisitor know, that there were two presses in a separate house, which had not been mentioned in d'Arnoullet's personal answers; upon which he, with the Grand Vicar, and Vice Bailiff, went to that place on the second of May; there they found three boys belonging to the press, Thomas de Straton, John de Bois, and Claude Papillen; the Inquisitor before he interrogated, endeavoured to frighten them, by telling them, that they could not be ignorant, that since the process against their master and Michael Villeneuve had commenced, all persons had been commanded, upon pain of being treated as hereticks, to discover what concerned the book composed by Villeneuve, which had come from Arnoullet's printing-press; that there was proof, that they, the printers, had been employed in that book, and exhorted them honestly to tell the truth, "and if they had done wrong to ask pardon, the judges did not mean to punish, but only to correct them." The poor innocent fellows

(90) Nov.
Mem. ub.
supr. p.
115, 118.

bales of his books, and all was burnt together. Let us return to

Servetus

fellows much frightened, fell upon their knees, and Straton speaking for the rest, acknowledged that they had printed a large book in octavo, entituled, *Christianismi Restitutio*, that they know nothing of its containing any heretical doctrine, but only heard of it since the process began; that they had worked from the last St. Michael's day, to the 3d of January, when the printing of the said book was finished; and that they durst not discover it to the judges for fear of being burnt; that upon the whole they asked their pardon, and referred themselves to their mercy: he added, that Mr. Michael Villeneuve had printed the book upon his own expences, and had corrected the proofs; and that he, Straton, by his order, had sent on the 13th of January five bales to Peter Merrin, type-founder, living at Lyons, near to Notre Dame de Confort. This was an excellent discovery for the Judges, and they did not fail to inform the Archbishop of Vienne immediately, who advised the Cardinal de Tournon of it. Next day the Inquisitor and the Grand Vicar went off for Lyons. They began by interrogating Peter Merrin, who told them ingenuously, that about four months ago, or thereby, he had received by a lighter from Vienne, five bales with this address; "remitted from Mr. Michael de Villeneuve, Doctor of Medicine, these bales to Peter Merrin, type-founder,

Servetus himself, escaped from the prisons of Vienne the 7th of April,

“founder, near Notre Dame de Confort.”

And the same day a clergyman of Vienne, called James Charmier, came to desire him from the said Villeneuve, to keep the bales till he came to take them away, “that it “was nothing else but clean paper;” and since that time he had no account of the said Villeneuve, nor had seen any body from him to take the bales away, and that he never knew whether they were clean paper or printed books. After having taken his deposition, the Inquisitor and the Grand Vicar caused the five bales to be carried away, and returned to Vienne, where they were put into one of the chambers of the Archbishoprick.

James Charmier was afterwards interrogated, he always denied that he ever knew what these bales contained, which he recommended to Peter Merrin; but the great connexions between him and Peter Merrin, made him much suspected, and he was condemned sometime afterwards, to three years imprisonment. The 10th of May the Inquisitor made an extract of the principal errors of Servetus’s book, “to make such censures upon it as “it deserved more easily.” In the month of June the process having been sufficiently instructed, the Vice Bailiff pronounced sentence conformable to the King’s Procurators conclusions. As Mr. la Roche has given this sentence from a copy not so exact as that which

April, not finding any retreat, he resolved to retire to Naples, there

which Mr. d'Artigny had in his possession, we shall make use of this last.

"Between the Procurator of the King Dauphin, pursuer for the crime of scandalous heresy, dogmatation, composition of new doctrines of heretical books, sedition, schism, disturbance of the union and publick peace, rebellion and disobedience to the ordinances made against heresies, breaking and escaping from the royal Dauphinal prisons upon the one part, and Mr. Michael de Villeneuve, Physician, formerly detained prisoner in the prison of the Dauphinal palace of Vienne, and at present a fugitive accused of the aforesaid crimes, on the other part.

"Having seen the pieces vindicating the said heresies, and even the letters and writings by the hands of the aforesaid Villeneuve, addressed to Mr. John Calvin, Preacher at Geneva; acknowledged by the said Villeneuve, his answers, confessions, and denials; the answers and other procedures concerning Balthazard Arnoullet, printer; certain bales and printed books, intituled, *Christianismi Restitutio*; the witnesses examined upon the said Villeneuve's having composed, and caused to be printed, the said book at his own charge; the reports of the Doctors of Divinity and other notable persons upon the errors contained in the said book and epistles; which errors and heresies are

"evident

there to exercise his profession
of Medicine ; but we are alto-
gether

“ evident from the bare reading of them ;
“ acts made upon the said Villeneuve’s
“ escaping from prison, and diligence used
“ to apprehend him ; adjournment for three
“ days, and defaults obtained upon them ;
“ re-examination of witnesses ; definitive con-
“ clusions of the said Procurator of the Dau-
“ phin King, and every other thing which has
“ been remitted to us ; the whole being consi-
“ dered, we have declared, and do declare,
“ the said defaults to have been well and duly
“ obtained ; for the confirmation whereof, we
“ have debarred, and hereby do debar the
“ said Villeneuve, from all exceptions and
“ defences declared, and do declare that he
“ is attainted and convicted of the crimes
“ laid to his charge ; for reparation whereof,
“ we have condemned, and do condemn him
“ as to a pecuniary fine, to pay the sum of
“ a thousand livres Tournois of fine to the
“ Dauphin King : and immediately upon his
“ being apprehended, he shall be carried upon
“ a dung-cart together with his books, the
“ first opportunity, from the market at the
“ gate of the Dauphinal palace, through the
“ several streets, and customary places to the
“ place of the hall of the said city, and
“ then to the place called the Charrure, and
“ there to be burned alive at a slow fire,
“ until his body be reduced to ashes. And
“ in the mean time the present sentence shall
“ be executed in effigy, with which the said
“ books

gether ignorant where he lived
from the 7th of April to the
month

" books shall be burnt. And we have con-
" demned, and do condemn him to pay all
" expence and charges of process, the tax
" whereof we reserve, declaring all and every
" part of his goods forfeited, and confiscated
" to the profit of whom it may appertain,
" the said expence of justice and fine being
" preferably delivered and paid out of the
" said goods. De la Court Vice Bailiff, and
" Judge Dauphinal, Grattet assessor, Carier
" assessor, Pietod assessor, Duprat assessor,
" A. de Bais assessor, Beraud assessor, Philip
" Morel assessor, Dampfescieu assessor, Pertier
" assessor, De Court assessor, Loys Merd
" assessor, Christofle assessor: the said sen-
" tence published in open court, and hearing
" of the said Procurator of the King of
" Dauphinee. We the Vice Bailiff and Judge
" of the said session in the hall of the
" Dauphinal palace in Vienne, the seven-
" teenth day of the month of June, one
" thousand five hundred and fifty three years.
" Present, Mess. Phillebert Gollin, Alex-
" ander Rolland, Claude Magnin, Charles
" Verdency, Peter de Vignes, and a great
" many other persons of quality of Vienne,
" being present there, and I the underwritten,

" CHASALIS."

" The same day about twelve o'clock, after
" the effigy was brought before the Dauphinal
" palace, the said effigy was put upon a
" dung-cart by Francis Berode, executioner

LIFE OF SERVETUS.

month of August; it is certain that he went to Geneva; authors differ

“ of justice, who was sent for on that
 “ account, together with five bales of books
 “ composed by the said Villeneuve, and when
 “ the effigy and books were just upon the
 “ said cart, it was conducted and led by the
 “ said executioner, from the gate of the
 “ palace through the streets and accustomed
 “ places, to the hall of the present city of
 “ Vienne, and then to the place called the
 “ Charnive, where the said effigy was fixed
 “ to a gibbet erected for that purpose, and
 “ afterwards burnt in a slow fire by the said
 “ executioner, who has fully and entirely
 “ executed the said sentence with regard to
 “ the said effigy, according to the form and
 “ tenor thereof; in presence of Guignes
 “ Ambrosin, common crier and trumpeter of
 “ Vienne, Claud Reymet, Michael Basset,
 “ catch-poles of the King of Dauphine,
 “ Sermet des Champs, Bolenger of Vienne,
 “ and a great many other persons assembled
 “ to see the sentence put in execution. Thus
 “ has it been conducted, attested, and signed
 “ by me,

“ Secretary CHASALIS.”

The sentence of the ecclesiastical Judges was not pronounced till six months after that of the Vice Bailiff, viz. Saturday the 23d of December, 1553; it declared, “ Michael de Villeneuve a heretick, accused on account of heresy, composing and printing

“ *Christianismi Restitutio*; his goods confis-

“ cated

differ as to the time of his staying there before he was put in prison, and the manner of his being arrested (P). Calvin having

"cated for the benefit of the courts of Vienne, deducting the expence of justice; ordaining besides, that all the books of the said Villeneuve which can be found, shall be burnt." Mr. d'Artigny has given this sentence entire, (91) it is in Latin; I shall observe here, that besides the errors of Servetus about the Trinity and baptism, there are some things in his book against the Pope's authority, the Mass, the Sacrament of the Altar, and other points peculiar to the Church of Rome, which alone were sufficient to have burnt him, had there been no other heresies; and those who shall read his book will have no doubt, but this rendered him a great deal more guilty in the eyes of his Judges than all the rest.

(P) *Before he was put in prison, and the manner of his being arrested*] All the writers of Servetus's life, being ignorant of the precise time when he got off from the prison of Vienne, make him go straight to Geneva, wherein they are certainly mistaken; for from the 7th of April, when he escaped from Vienne, until the 13th of August, when he was arrested at Geneva, being more than four months, these gentlemen are unwilling to credit Calvin, who in a letter to Sulzer, (92) says, that Servetus had been four months in Italy: 1553.

(91) Loc. cit. 123, 127.

(92) Epist. Calvin p. m. 70. Ep. 3. Idus Sept.

having learned that Servetus was in the city, prevailed upon the chief

Italy: "Re vero patefacta in carcerem est conjectus (Viennæ). Unde nescio quomodo elapsus, per Italiam erravit quatuor menses. Tandem huc malis auspiciis appulsum, unus ex Syndicis, me auctore in carcerem duci jussit." According to Calvin, no less than four months had passed when Servetus arrived at Geneva; he might be deceived as to the places where Servetus had been, but he could not be deceived as to the time. Mr. de la Chapelle (93), who likewise believed that Servetus came straight to Geneva, pretends to conclude from that calculation that he must have been a long time in the city before he was imprisoned; let us give the words of the Journal: "In the request of Servetus dated Sept. 15, 1553, he says, that Calvin had kept him in confinement five weeks, he must have been put in prison then, the 10th or 11th of August. But observe, that if he escaped from the prison of Vienne before the 17th of June, this must have been two months before his imprisonment at Geneva; let us allow two weeks of these eight for his journey, which is sufficient for a man who is flying from punishment, and who certainly would not trifle away his time in a country where death was every where before his eyes. He must therefore have been near six weeks at Geneva before he was arrested; this calculation is easy, and why have not

" these

(93) Bibl
Raison.
t. 2. p.
94, 95.

chief Syndick to cause him to
be put in prison ; there was found
upon

“these gentlemen made it? It was because
“it did not answer their purpose to make it.
“In order to render the confinement of Ser-
“vetus the more odious ; according to some,
“it was the very next day after he arrived,
“according to others, even that very day,
“coming out from the sermon, where Calvin
“had observed him ; or, according to Mr.
“Allwoerden, Calvin had been informed by
“means of his spies, that Servetus had taken
“the road for Geneva, and of the very mo-
“ment of his arrival. His words in Latin
“are, *Compertum habebat per exploratores Cal-*
“*vinus, Vienna discessisse Servetum, et Genevam*
“*venturum esse, neque latebat eum, simulac*
“*advenisset adesse hominem.* A stay of five or
“six weeks was more than sufficient to ac-
“quaint all the inhabitants of Geneva, that
“Servetus had fled to their city ; Calvin
“without the trouble of searches, or spies,
“might very easily have known it, and he
“could not be ignorant of it ; it is indeed
“probable, that he was informed amongst
“the first, and therefore altogether picardian
“or cholerick as he was, he had time
“enough to proceed slowly, and do nothing
“in a rage, he had at least a whole month to
“reflect : for supposing Servetus arrived at
“Geneva the 1st of July, it would be odd
“if he should be fifteen days there without
“being known by any body ; and Theodore
“de Beza marks the precise day of his im-
“prisonment

upon him ninety seven pieces of gold, a gold chain, which weighed about

"prisonment the 13th of August, which

"agrees perfectly well with the six weeks

"which Servetus says in his request, Sep-

"tember 15, he had been confined." Ob-

serve here, that Mr. de Alwoerden has without

any proof, supposed that Calvin was informed

by spies, that Servetus was to come directly to

Geneva. We must own that these spies must

have been very artful to know that a man,

who had escaped from Vienne, about four

o'clock in the morning, without seeing any

mortal, and wandered about four months,

no body knows where, should at last, come

to Geneva, and arrive there upon a fixed day.

Mr. de la Chapelle on the other hand, has

reasoned upon a false supposition, which is,

that Servetus went straight to Geneva, and

consequently must have staid there five or six

(94) *ibid.* weeks. Mr. d'Artigny (94) seems to fall

supr. p. into the same mistake, which he might have

127. prevented by adverting to the time of Ser-

vetus's escape. "The fear of being disco-

vered by the Catholicks, made him take

the road to Switzerland rather than to Pied-

mont, and he arrived at Geneva, where he

concealed himself for a month, waiting for

"an opportunity of getting away." Mr. la

(95) *Bibl. Roche* (95) is nearer the truth with respect to

Angl. t. 2. Servetus's stay at Geneva, but he is deceived

p. 109. as all the rest are, in making him come there

directly after his escape from Vienne. "He

"took," says he, "the road to Geneva,

"where

LIFE OF SERVETUS.

about twenty crowns, and six gold rings. As it was necessary that

“ where he came on foot, having lain the night before at Luyser, where he arrived on horseback ; I could never discover what day it was he entered into Geneva, but he lodged at the Sign of the Rose ; he had a design to hire a boat next day, to get over the lake, and then to Zurich.” It appears

very plain to me, that Servetus was arrested soon after his arrival at Geneva, and that he had not staid so long there as Mess. de la Chapelle and d'Artigny make him : Calvin seems to say in the passage cited, in the beginning of this note, that he was imprisoned directly. With respect to the day and the manner of his being imprisoned, Sebastian Chateillon, otherwise Castalio, has raised bitterly against Calvin, because he made Servetus be taken hold of coming out of the church upon a Sunday, a day on which no person could be arrested by the laws of Geneva, except for a capital crime. “ Servetus

“ simulac conspectus die Dominico ex concione tractus est in carcerem, unde postea nunquam exivit, nisi cum ad ignem ductus est.” And in another place, “ Servetus

“ venit Geneviam, et eodem die viz. Dominico audivit concionem post prandium, ibi cum ante inceptam concionem, sederet una cum aliis, agnitus est a quibusdam qui id continuo Calvino nunciatum iverunt, Calvinus e vestigio ad magistratum suum detulit aut deferendum curavit, ut Servetum,

that some person should prosecute Servetus, to bring him to justice, Calvin employed a student called Nicolas de la Fontaine, (Q) whom

“propter heresin, in vincula petat:” add to this, the words following, “Genevæ lex est ne quem die Dominico capi liceat, nisi ob capitale facinus.” These passages are taken from a MS. which has been communicated to me; Castalio is not mistaken as to the day, if it is true that Servetus was imprisoned the 13th day of August, as Beza says, this was upon a Sunday. But Servetus was guilty of a capital crime, according to the laws then in force against hereticks; it is false however, that Servetus had been in the church, and that he was from thence led to prison, being known by some people. Mr. de la Roche has very well observed, that it is certain by his own confession, that he did not appear in publick for fear of being discovered; but why was he afraid, or how could he be known? By his history it does not appear that he had ever been at Geneva, and he ought naturally to be unknown there, except he had betrayed himself by discovering his name. But yet it is true, that there might be people who had seen him elsewhere, and probably it was by this means, that Calvin was acquainted with his arrival.

(Q) Calvin employed a student called Nicolas de la Fontaine.] It is certain, that Nicolas de la Fontaine appeared only for form, and

whom some make Calvin's cook,

to begin the process. Calvin directed him, and was the real accuser of Servetus; he made another person to act in it, only to be free of the trouble of imprisonment, which the laws could not have dispensed with, if he had directly stated himself a party. Calvin agrees to this himself; see what he writes to Farel, (96) the 20th of August, 1553.

"Jam novum habemus negotium cum Ser-
"vero hac transire forte cogitabat. Necdum
"enim scitur, qui consilio venerit. Sed
"quum agnitus fuisset, retinendum putavi,
"Nicolaus meus ad capitale judicium poenæ
"talionis se offerens ipsum vocavit." He

says to Suker in a letter, Sept. 8, "Tandem
"(97) huc malis auspiciis appulsum unus
"ex syndicis, me auctore in carcerem duci
"jussit, neque enim dissimulo, quin officii
"mei duxerim, hominem plusquam obsti-
"natum et indomitum quoad in me erat,
"compescere ne longius manaret contagio."

It was not to his friends only, that he expressed himself in this manner, he was not afraid to acknowledge the same thing openly.

"I don't want to deny," says he, "but that
"it was upon my accusation that he was
"made prisoner (98). For as by the laws of
"the city it is necessary that some person
"should state himself a party to have the
"cause opened, I confess, that the person
"who demanded justice against him, did it
"by my advice.—Let malicious and ill-
"spoken people throw out as much jargon

"as

(96) Epist.

Calv. 20.

August, 11

1553. and

the letters

are not up

numbered

in my

edition.

(97) ibid.

Ep. 5. Id.

Sept. 11.

1553. 101

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(96) Epist.
Calv. 20
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in my
edition.

(97) ib.
Ep. 5. Id.
Sept. 1553.

(98) De-
claratorie
p. 11, 54.
55.

or his valet, to give the affair a more odious turn (R). Servetus

compeared

“ as they please; I declare frankly, that
 “ since according to the law and custom of
 “ the city, none can be imprisoned for any
 “ crime, without an accuser, or prior infor-
 “ mation; in order to bring this man to
 “ reason, I have made it so, that a party

“ should be found to accuse him, not deny-
 “ ing, but the action laid against him was
 “ drawn up by my advice, in order to com-
 “ mence the process.” This is clear and
 distinct; Calvin owns it himself, that he was
 in reality Servetus's accuser.

(R) *Whom some make Calvin's cook, or his
 valet, to give the affair a more odious turn.*

Castalio or Chateillon has many times repeated
 it, that Nicolas de Fontaine was Calvin's
 cook. (99) “ An Calvini coquus potuerit de

Serveti erroribus circa Trinitatem et fatum,
 et ejus generis obscurissimas quæstiones, (in
 quibus tot jam seculis sudavit ecclesia)
 “ judicare? et primus lapidem jacere, aut ut
 “ falsus testis, eodem supplicio affici, iis ju-
 “ dicandum relinquo, qui norunt hominis
 “ ignorantiam. Item an pastori licuerit ex
 “ culina sua accusatorem rei capitis depro-
 “ mere, judicent ii qui Apostolorum mores
 “ ingeniumque norunt. coquus ille non est
 “ accusator, sed muta persona, et accusatoris
 “ larva, ut ea deceptus magistratus pateretur
 “ verum accusatorem Calvinum totam Ser-
 “ veti causam agere; id quod ei non licuisset,
 “ si secundum urbis legem, fuisset ipsemet

“ in

(99) con-
 tra libel-
 lum Cal-
 vini, in
 quo often-
 dere con-
 natur
 hæreticos
 jure gladii
 coercendo
 esse, Edit.
 de 1612, in
 12mo.
 num. 131.
 there is
 another
 edition of
 this work
 in Switz-
 erland,
 1554.
 Cha-
 teillon
 published
 it under
 the name
 of Martin
 Bellius,
 vid. Bibl.
 Raïson. t.
 4. p. 96.

compeared for the first time, on the 14th of August: La Fontaine likewise produced against him a MS. and a printed book; Servetus owned that he was the author of both, but said, that the MS. had never been printed; that he had only sent it about six years ago to Calvin, to know what he thought of it. The accuser

"in vinculis." And in another place, "Calvinus ut inimicum suum posset apprimere, subornavit accusatorem ex culina sua, non minem Serveti et Servetianarum questionum igrarissimum." Those who know Calvin and the customs and manners of that age, cannot but smile when it is seriously published, that this reformer had a cook with the title of this office: there is great probability indeed, that a man who lived very sparingly, and left only two hundred crowns to his heirs, should want a cook! Read this passage of Beza, which Mr. de la Chapelle furnishes me with (100): "He abstained (100) Bi. from certain common victuals which he Raif. t. 2. loved on account of his stomach, but P. 97. this was without any delicacy, or being troublesome in company; one fault he had, that in his abstinence he had too little regard to his health, contenting himself
— for

accuser produced likewise a copy of Ptolemy, and a Latin bible with marginal notes; Servetus confessed that he was the publisher of both of these works, and author of the notes. The 15th of August, he submitted to a new examination upon the same articles; he owned some, and denied others, and La Fontaine

was

“ for many years, with one meal in four and
 “ twenty hours; never tasting any thing in
 “ the interval: his reasons were the weakness
 “ of his stomach, and a head-ach, for which
 “ he found no better remedy from experi-
 “ ence, than a constant spare diet; so that
 “ I have sometimes known him to fast till
 “ the second day.” Florimond de Remond
 who can’t be suspected of being favourable to
 Calvin, witnesses the same (101), “ That he
 “ shewed from his youth that he was not
 “ given to the pleasures of the flesh, or
 “ his belly; that he was a great faster, even
 “ in his younger years; that he was so intent
 “ upon his labours, that very often he passed
 “ whole nights without sleeping, and days
 “ without eating.” Must it not be owned, that
 a man who lived in this manner, could not
 easily dispense with a cook! Those who have
 succeeded Chateillon, being sensible of the
 ridicu-

(101) See
 Drelin-
 court de-
 fence de
 Calvin. p.
 109.

was discharged upon bail. The next day the accuser returned to the charge, and brought with him one German Colladon; he presented likewise a request, desiring that Servetus should be made to answer more precisely, and to discharge him from all expence, &c. in causing his effects to be prosecuted by the Procu-

ridiculouſness of the fable of the cook, have taken another turn, contenting themselves with saying, that la Fontaine had been Mr. de Falaix's cook, and thence went into Calvin's service. Mr. d'Allwoerden thinks this very probable, "*sed verisimilius tamen arbitror inde famam natam, esse de coquo Calvini, quod homo hic antea coquus fuerit.*" We find the same fact in Uylenbogaerd (102) in these terms, translated from the Low Dutch; "Calvin had a valet who had formerly been cook to a gentleman called Faléze, whom Calvin boasted much of, on account of his religion, although afterwards under his own hand, he treated him as a heretick, because he was of contrary sentiments to his, upon the article of predestination. This man then, having become Calvin's valet, accused Servetus, who was thereupon summoned coming out
" of

(102)
Kerklyk
Hist.
p. 74.

Procurator Fiscal. The 17th, La Fontaine and Colladon produced two letters from Oecolampadius, and two passages from Melancthon, to prove that Servetus had been condemned in Germany; they recurred likewise, to the passage concerning Judea, which was found in his *Ptolemy*. [We have spoken of this article in the note

“ of the church, who having owned his
 “ name, was put in prison with Calvin’s
 “ valet, who was immediately released upon
 (103) Bi. “ bail.” Mr. de la Roche (103) believes,
 Angl. t. that Nicolas de la Fontaine was a poor
 2. p. 113. student, and a kind of servant to Calvin.
 Mr. l’Abbe d’Artigny calls him a student in
 Divinity, who was entirely devoted to Cal-
 vin. Let us decide this question, and let us
 confidently say, that all this which has been
 said about the cook and the valet, is pure
 calumny. One unanswerable proof of this, I
 find in a request presented by la Fontaine to
 the Judges of Geneva, furnished me by Mr.
 (104) ib. de la Roche (104). “ There is humbly laid
 p. 117, “ before you, noble and mighty Lords, by
 118. “ Nicolas de la Fontaine, having stated him-
 “ self prisoner in a criminal cause, against
 “ Michael Servetus, for the great scandal
 “ and disturbance which the said Servetus
 “ has

note (F).] They alledged likewise, his notes upon the 7th, 8th, and 53d chapters of Isaiah, his *Christianismi Restitutio*, and a Latin letter he had written to Abel Pepin, Minister at Geneva. He compeared a-new the 21st of August, and there was shewn him a letter from his bookseller, Balthazar Arnoullet, written from Vienne

“ has caused for the space of twenty four
 “ years, or thereby, through Christendom,
 “ by the blasphemies which he has uttered,
 “ and written against God; by the heresies
 “ wherewith he has infected the world; by
 “ the wicked calumnies and false defamations,
 “ which he has published against the
 “ eminent servants of God, especially against
 “ Mr. Calvin; whose honour the said preacher
 “ is bound to maintain, as his pastor, if he
 “ is to be looked upon as a christian; and
 “ likewise, on account of the scandal and
 “ dishonour which might happen to the
 “ church of Geneva, since the said Servetus
 “ condemned the doctrine preached there, in
 “ a particular manner, &c.” La Fontaine
 gives himself here the title of preacher;
 had he been Calvin’s simple valet, durst
 he have done so? or would the magistrates
 have suffered themselves to be so
 grossly

Vienne the 14th of July, 1553, to James Bertet, living at Chastillon; by which he begged of him, "to destroy secretly, the "copies of *Christianismi Restitutio* which he had sent him," because that Gueroult had deceived him by concealing the errors which were in this book. The same day Calvin disputed with Servetus upon the true sense of the words *Person* and *Hypostasis*. After Calvin and the other Ministers were retired, the Judges ordered, that the books which Servetus required, if to be found at Geneva, or Lyons, should be bought at his expence; and that he should keep by him some of these

grossly imposed upon? it is true that Calvin speaks of him as of a man who lived in his house, he calls him *Nicolaus meus*; it is very probable that he lodged with Calvin, as others had done, and among the rest, the Lawyer Baudouin, to whom he dedicated his works (105).

(105)
Dreling.
defence
de Calv.
250. &
seq.

(S) *Wherein*

these Calvin had produced ; and the Judges granted him ink and paper, according to his desire. The 22d, Servetus presented a request to the Syndicks and Council of Geneva, wherein he required nothing but what was just (S), but which he did not obtain.

(S) *Wherein he required nothing but what was just.*] Mr. la Roche furnishes us with the request itself, expressed in the terms following (106):

(106)

Bibl.

Angl. p.

“ To the very honourable Lords, my Lords, 135, 137.

“ the Syndics, and Council of Geneva.

“ Humbly shews,

“ Michael Servetus accused, laying it
 “ down as a certain fact, that this is a new
 “ invention. The Apostles, the Disciples,
 “ and the antient church, had no notion of
 “ making a criminal process for any doctrine
 “ of the Scripture, or any questions arising
 “ from it ; which is evident in the first place,
 “ from the 18th and 19th chapters of the
 “ Acts of the Apostles, where such accusers
 “ were dismissed and sent back to the churches,
 “ when there was no other crime but ques-
 “ tions about religion. In like manner in the
 “ time of the Emperor Constantine the
 “ Great, when there were the gross heresies
 “ of the Arians, and criminal accusations,

K

“ both

(t) *ibid.*
138, 140.

obtain. The 23d of August the Procurator General presented thirty new articles, upon which he required that Servetus should be interrogated, the most part of these regarded his person, his manners, and his conduct, and which to say the truth, had no connexion with the affair in hand. (t) On the 28th there appeared thirty eight new articles, upon which the Procurator General

“ both against Athanasius and Arius; the
 “ said Emperor by his council, and the
 “ council of all the Churches, decreed, That
 “ according to the ancient Doctrine, such
 “ accusations could not take place not even
 “ in the case of such a heretick as Arius was;
 “ but that all their disputes should be decided
 “ by the Churches, and there it was where
 “ they should either be convinced or con-
 “ demned; and if they could not be gained
 “ by repentance, they should be banished.
 “ Which punishment has been always ob-
 “ served in the ancient Church against here-
 “ ticks, as is proved by a thousand other
 “ histories and authorities of the Doctors.
 “ Wherefore, my Lords, agreeable to the
 “ Doctrine of the Apostles and Disciples,
 “ who never allowed of any such accusations,
 “ and

neral required that the prisoner should be interrogated, and that he should answer in the affirmative or negative. The articles were preceded by a preamble tending to shew that Servetus deserved death. The Procurator General remonstrated to the Judges, " That Servetus had
" prevaricated in his answers;
" that they were full of lies;
" that he made a mock of God
" and

" and according to the Doctrine of the
" ancient Church, wherein such accusations
" were never admitted; the said supplicant
" prays, that he may be dismissed from the
" criminal accusation.

" Secondly, my Lords, he begs you will
" consider that he has committed no offence,
" neither in your territories, nor any where
" else; that he has neither been seditious
" nor turbulent; for the questions relating
" to him are difficult, and ought to be put
" into the hands of learned men. And that
" all the time he has been in Germany, he
" never spoke of these questions, but to
" Oecolampadius, Bucer, and Capito; and
" that in France he never mentioned them
" to any person. And besides, he has always
" reprov'd, and still reprov's the Anabap-

LIFE OF SERVETUS.

“and his Word, in alledging,
 “corrupting, and giving a false
 “turn to passages of Scripture,
 “to cover his blasphemies, and
 “escape punishment.” He adds,
 that Servetus had chosen his exam-
 ples very ill, when he cited the
 Apostles in his request; and what
 he had said about the Emperor Con-
 stantine, was false; the laws of
 the Emperor’s which condemned
 hereticks to death, were cited
 against

“tists seditions against Magistrates, and who
 “want to make all things common. He
 “therefore concludes, that he ought not to
 “be detained under any criminal accusation,
 “for having proposed some questions from the
 “ancient Doctors of the Church, but without
 “any sedition.

“Thirdly, my Lords, because he is a
 “stranger, and does not know the customs
 “of this country, nor in what manner he
 “is to proceed in judgment, he humbly
 “begs of you to grant him an advocate,
 “who may speak for him. In doing so,
 “you shall do well, and our Lord shall
 “prosper your Republick. Given in your
 “city of Geneva, the 22d of August, 1553.

“MICHAEL SERVETUS, of Villeneuve
 “in his own cause.”

Without

against him ; it was said he was of the principles of the Anabaptists, who deprived the civil magistrate of the sword. The Procurator General at last concluded, that since the prisoner knew the art of lying so well, they ought not to give him an advocate as he had desired ; which was forbid by the law, and had never been granted to such a deceiver as he. The articles upon which he had

Without examining the reasons, and the facts against the penal laws, Servetus had reason to complain of his imprisonment in Geneva: he was not a subject of the Republick, he had not been detected in doing any thing contrary to the law, and consequently the magistrates of Geneva had no jurisdiction over him; what he had done elsewhere, did not belong unto them, and they could not retain a stranger, without injustice, who was passing through their city, and who continued in it peaceably. Besides, what was more just and equitable than to grant an advocate to such a prisoner to defend his cause? Mr. de la Chapelle (107) looks upon this request of Servetus we are here speaking of, as a proof that Calvin's design was to have him punished, if he did not recant; and

(107) Bi-
Raison.

t. 2. p.

139, 141,

had been examined that day, were of the same nature as the thirty, upon which he had been already interrogated, and had no concern with the accusation of heresy. Servetus declared the same day, that he persisted in his belief, except they could shew him the falsehood of his doctrine. August 31 the Syndics and the Council of Geneva received a letter from the Vice Bailiff of Vienne, and the

finds likewise in it a proof that the penal laws were in force at Geneva. We shall speak of this last article elsewhere; let us content ourselves here with that which concerns Calvin. "We see," says this learned Journalist, "that his (Servetus's) design was "to decry all penal laws made against heretics, except those which condemned them "to banishment, a representation so just, and "so natural, could not be a trifling incident; "and we don't doubt but they felt all the "importance of it at Geneva. It is very "probable that the matter was well weighed, "and that they had taken time to consider "what was for or against it. Thus the Lieutenant of the city did not answer this part "of the request, till the 28th of August, "and that was the day when the Procurator
" General

the King's Procurator of the same city, dated the 26th, by which they gave them thanks for acquainting them that Servetus had been arrested and imprisoned at Geneva; they intreated them to remit back the prisoner, that the sentence pronounced against him might be executed. Their letter was accompanied with a copy of this sentence. This letter was brought by the Viguier or Captain

“ General remonstrated to the Judges, that
“ Servetus had made an ill choice of his
“ examples, &c. We can't doubt but the
“ advice of Calvin was taken on this head;
“ they certainly consulted him upon every
“ thing else, and how improbable is it that
“ they would not have recourse to his judgment, in so serious and delicate a question?
“ But if this divine had declared himself for
“ toleration, we may believe that his opinion
“ would have had a great influence upon the
“ Procurator, or at least upon the Judges.
“ Since the voice of the court therefore, was
“ unanimously for persecution, let us stick to
“ it as a truth, that Calvin made the ballance
“ incline to the most rigorous side.—Let
“ us not therefore, be surprised at the bitter
“ reproaches the prisoner threw upon him,
K 4 “ in

tain of the King's palace at Vienne; the same day Servetus having compeared a-new, the Captain was brought in, and they asked the prisoner if he knew him, he answered yes, and that he had been two days under his guard, &c. Then he was asked, if he would rather stay at Geneva, in the hands of the gentlemen of the Council, or return to Vienne with the jaylor, who was come

“in a new request of the 15th of September.
 “I have presented you another request,” says he, “which was according to God.
 “And in order to frustrate it, Calvin has
 “cited *Justinian* before you; it is certainly wrong in him, to cite against me
 “that which he himself does not believe;
 “does not sustain; he does not believe what
 “*Justinian* says, *de sacrosanctis ecclesiis et de*
 “*episcopis et clericis*, and other things concerning religion, and knows very well that
 “the Church was then corrupted; this is a
 “great shame to him.” Whatever was in this, it appears to me unquestionable, that the representations of Servetus in the first instance were just, and his demands perfectly well founded; but we shall see afterwards, that

come to demand him. Servetus threw himself upon the ground, pouring forth a flood of tears, and said, that he wished rather to be judged by the Magistrates of Geneva, (T) and that these gentlemen might do with him whatever that the voice of equity and reason was stifled by unhappy prejudices.

(T) *Wished rather to be judged by the magistrates of Geneva.*] All this correspondence between the Magistrates of Geneva and the Judges of Vienne, furnishes a new proof of the power of prejudices, that the best men were prepossessed with; as to the manner of acting with hereticks. For what reason did they advise Vienne that they kept Servetus, if they had no design of giving him up? Had the Judges of Vienne made any requisition? Was there not a great deal of cruelty in proposing to the prisoner to chuse whether he would stay at Geneva, or be delivered up to the justice of Vienne? What kind of question was this to ask a man, if he chused to go and be burnt at a slow fire? Was not this enough to throw him under the necessity of submitting himself to a jurisdiction which, as I have already observed, had no right over him; this was probably the view they proposed in order to legitimate their proceeding, which in its foundation was altogether unjust.

(U) To

whatever they pleased. The jaylor went away from Geneva, having obtained an attestation, bearing, that Servetus had declared that his escape from Vienne was without the jaylor's consent.

(u) *ibid.*
140, 144

(u) The 1st of September Servetus generously refused to name the creditors he had in France, that he might not enrich his enemies and expose his friends. The same day the Judges appointed Calvin to extract propositions word for word from the book of Servetus. (U) They ordered at the same time

(108) *ib.*
P. 134,
135.

(U) *To extract propositions word for word from the book of Servetus.]* Mr. de la Chapelle has observed (108) on account of this order, that in the manner the historians of Servetus relate the proceedings against him, one would say, that Calvin was every thing at the same time; accuser, party, witness, and judge. Mr. la Roche says, more than once, "that he is sorry to find Calvin so often in his way;" the reflection Mr. de la Chapelle makes on it is this, "Calvin never appeared openly upon the stage, but when it became him, that is to say, with all the prudence and gravity suitable
" to

time that Servetus should answer them in Latin. Servetus compared

“ to his character. He never came to the
 “ court but when he was commanded, and
 “ there he did nothing but by the order of
 “ his master. Upon every emergent it
 “ seems they had recourse to divines, to
 “ consult with them, to confer with prisoners, to direct interrogations, to make
 “ extracts, examine answers, and many
 “ other things of this kind. At that time
 “ there was no divine who was not obliged
 “ to appear as often as his superiors required
 “ him; if Calvin appeared so frequently
 “ upon the stage, let it be ascribed to his
 “ merit, to his reputation, and even to his
 “ credit if they please; why not, I have
 “ nothing to say against it, and I believe in
 “ the station this pastor of Geneva was in,
 “ they were afraid of transgressing, if they
 “ did any thing without him: but why
 “ represent him, as an impertinent hypocrite, who intruded himself by his office
 “ in this affair; or as an implacable enemy,
 “ who earnestly solicited Servetus’s death.”

We shall see what Calvin says himself upon this subject; as I have his works in Latin only, I shall borrow the following passage from the French of Mr. de la Chapelle: “ In truth”

says he, (109) “ I will not deny but that he (109) Declaration
 “ was made prisoner upon my application.—
 “ But after he was convicted of his heresies, P. 11, 55.
 “ every one knows, that I did not in the least 97, 98.
 “ insist that he should be punished with
 “ death.

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peared again the 15th of September; there were delivered to him
thirty

“ death. And as to the truth of what I
 “ say, not only all good men will bear me
 “ witness, but I defy all malicious men to
 “ say it is not so: the proceeding has shewn
 “ with what intention I did it. For when I
 “ and my brethren were called, I mean all
 “ the Ministers of the Gospel, it was not
 “ owing to us, that he had not full liberty
 “ given him, of conferring and treating of
 “ the articles wherein he had erred, in an
 “ amicable manner with us. Eight days
 “ after, I was again called by the magistrates.
 “ After we had disputed a long time upon
 “ what he had often complained of, that it
 “ was neither decent, nor proper to treat of
 “ the affairs of the christian religion before a
 “ temporal Judge, and even in prison, I
 “ answered him that it was true.—And at
 “ last, when he desired that it should be
 “ referred to the judgment of other churches,
 “ I willingly accepted of this condition: for
 “ which reason our magistrates wanting to
 “ abridge a multitude of words, commanded
 “ me to extract certain propositions from Ser-
 “ vetus’s book, which should contain the
 “ chief disputes, and these to be delivered to
 “ him in writing. By the same decree there
 “ was allowed him freedom and permission to
 “ retract what he knew he had erroneously
 “ wrote, to argue against me, if he found
 “ he was falsely accused; and to prove by the
 “ Word of God, what was unjustly con-
 “ demned

thirty eight propositions, which Calvin had extracted from his book ;

“ demned by me.—I did immediately according to my orders—Servetus had as much time to answer, as he pleased to take ; I was obliged to make my replies to his answers in two days.—He presented a request to see these replies of mine, that he might oppose them ; which was granted him.” It is evident that Calvin appeared in this cause no otherways than as a divine : mean while we must observe with Mr. de la Chapelle, that Calvin could not delate Servetus before the Magistrates with any other than a determined design to have him corporally punished, if he did not change his opinion during the trial ; (110) the proof of which is evident : Calvin could not be ignorant, as we shall see afterwards, that the laws which punished hereticks with death, were in force in Geneva. Besides, the action raised against Servetus in de la Fontaine’s name, was a criminal cause, which clearly shews, that these who raised it, knew very well that if he was convicted, he would be punished with death : add to this, that Servetus in his request, August the 22d, objected against the penal laws, which makes it evident he was convinced that they wanted his life : in fine, Calvin was very ill pleased with him, who wanted to refer the affair to the Council of two hundred, who had power to suspend, or abolish the penal law. We shall speak of this proposition below.

(110)
Bib. Rais.
loc. cit.
p. 137.
&c.

(W) De-

book; he answered them in writing; Calvin replied; his reply was delivered to Servetus, who made marginal notes upon it.

(W) Upon the 15th of September, he

(W) *Delivered to Servetus, who made marginal notes upon it.*] All these pieces are to be found amongst Calvin's works, and Calvin's extracts of them are exact. We see in Servetus's answers, a great deal of pride and haughtiness, and in the short notes he puts to Calvin's reply, he treats him in the rudest manner. This is the proper place to make known the sentiments of Servetus, as much as it is possible; I say as much as it is possible, because after having read his work, I confess, there are innumerable things in it which I don't understand. Servetus's head was full of scholastick notions, and it appears, that he had read the Fathers, and ancient Philosophers, and that jumbling them all together, he had worked out the most extraordinary system perhaps, that ever was, and which he himself perhaps did not understand. Be that as it will, I shall endeavour to put it in the power of curious people to judge by themselves of the opinions of this famous heretick.

I. I shall observe first of all, that Servetus appears to me to have been deeply tinctured with enthusiasm, and to have had a great deal of pride and presumption; judge of his enthusiasm by the following prayer, to be found at the end

he presented another request,
wherein he set forth the misery

of his introduction. (111) O Christe Jesu⁽¹¹¹⁾
 “ fili Dei, qui de cælo nobis datus, Deitatem^{Christi.}
 “ patefactam in te ipso visibilem manifestus,^{Restitutio}
 “ te ipsum aperi servo tuo ut manifestatio^{p. 4.}
 “ tanta vere patefiat. Spiritum tuum bonum
 “ & verbum efficax petenti nunc tribue,
 “ mentem meam & calamum dirige, ut Di-
 “ vinitatis tuæ gloriam possim enarrare, ac
 “ veram de te fidem exprimere. Causa hæc
 “ tua est, et tuam a Patri et Spiritus tui
 “ gloriam explicans quæ divino quodam im-
 “ pulsu tractandum sese mihi obtulit cum
 “ essem de tua veritate sollicitus. Tractare
 “ aliquando cæpi et nunc, iterum tractare
 “ cogor, ut ex rei ipsius certitudine, et ex
 “ signis temporum manifestis, sum nunc pius
 “ omnibus ostensurus. Lucernam non esse
 “ abscondendam tu nos docuisti : Ut væ mihi
 “ sit, nisi evangelizem.” I find a new proof
 of his enthusiasm and pride at the same time,
 in the application he makes of what we read
 in Dan. 12. and Revel. 12. of the combat
 and victory of Michael over the Dragon ;
 “ cogita, lector,” says he, (112) “ quid apud^{(112) ib.}
 “ Danielelem et Johannem significet ille Mi-395, 396.
 “ chaelis futurus adventus, et pugna post
 “ annos desolationis 1260. Observa bene—
 “ ut a Constantini et Sylvestri tempore, jam
 “ annos 1260 regnaverit, papa verum An-
 “ tichristus.” It is in the same view that
 one of his interlocutors of his dialogues is
 Michael, and that he has put at the head of
 his

he suffered in prison, and desired that his cause should be referred to

his book in Hebrew, taken from Daniel; and in Greek, taken from the Apocalypse, these words, "At this time Michael the great Captain did arise, and there was a battle in Heaven."

II. It is known that Servetus wanted above all things, to oppose the Doctrine of the Trinity; he impugns it in plain terms in his first book, but it must be owned, that he attacks rather the language of the schoolmen than the article itself, such as is taught in the Scripture; I make an exception however, of the explication he has given of 1 John v. 7. and Matt. xxviii. 19. that which he says at first, upon these two passages, may give a general view of his system; which appears to me to be essentially the same with Sabellianism. The words are, "ad quorum
"facilem explicationem est advertendum
"quod una et eadem Deitas quæ est in patre,
"communicata est Filio immediate et corporaliter, deinde eo mediatore, per ministerium angelici spiritus, communicata est
"spiritualiter Apostolis in die Pentecostes.
"Christo soli a natura est Deitas insita corporaliter et spiritualiter. Deinde ab eo
"datur aliis sanctus et substantialis halitus.
"Utrumque communicationis modum, corporalem et spirituales seorsum postea exponemus, substantiam ipsam Spiritus Sancti
"ostendentes quod sit eadem Deitas cum
"Patre et Filio." With respect to the passage

to the council of two hundred.
It is believed that this request

was

passage of St. John, see how Servetus explains it. The question is here, of what passed at the baptism of Jesus Christ. They heard a voice the "Word," which testified from heaven, the "Father," who pronounced it, confirmed the testimony, and that Jesus Christ was his well-beloved Son, and the Holy Spirit descended in a visible form; "And these Three are One," because they give a joint testimony to the same thing, and to the unity of the same Divinity. "Manifesta ibi vox et auditus sermo de cælo testatur hunc Jesum esse Filium Dei, Pater proferens ibi manifestatur de cælo testificans, hunc esse filium suum, et Spiritus in eum de cælo veniens ibi manifeste visus testatur——et hæc omnia unum sunt, quia conformiter de eadem re testantur ejusdem Deitatis unitate." (114) He explains himself upon the institution of baptism, Matt. xxviii. p. 23. still in a more singular manner, "Quanquam baptismus," says he, (115) "ex apostolorum doctrina rite conferatur in nomine Christi, cum Christus in se contineat Patrem et Spiritum Sanctum, unctus unguentem et unctionem, tamen latius voluit Christus omnia exprimere, Patri hominem deferre, et Spiritum Sanctum baptismo adjungere, cum ibi Spiritus Sancti munus unice patefiat. Primo ergo ait, *baptizate in nomine Patris*, quia ipse omnis doni est primus, verus et originalis fons: Jacobi i. *in nomine Filii*, quia per ipsum habemus reconciliationem,

was suggested to him by Calvin's

" ciliationem, et donum hoc, nec est aliud
 " nomen sub cælo in quo oporteat nos salvos
 " fieri, Acts iv. in nomine Spiritus Sancti,
 " quia Spiritus Sancti donum in baptismo
 " datur.—Tres sunt manifestationis modi,
 " seu personæ, non metaphysica illa rerum
 " incorporearum in Deo distinctione, sed sacra-
 " menti exhibitione per Dei οἰκονομίαν."

III. Let us see what he thought about the person of Jesus Christ. He appears to have had very odd notions on this subject; in general we may say that he pretended, that the only Son of God had not properly not existed, before that Jesus was born of the Virgin Mary; according to him, the Word, which was no other thing but the Wisdom of God, was not the Son of God, but in this Word there was found, the representation, the image of Jesus Christ, which was afterwards to exist. I don't know if I make myself understood. I shall give Servetus's own words: " Verbum erat Λόγος, idealis ratio
 " jam hominem referens; id jam occulte
 " referebat, in quo futurum erat—Jam olim
 " in Verbo apud Deum erat futuri hominis
 (116) ib. " Jesu Christi exemplar, persona et effigies"

P 92.

(116). The doctrine of Servetus upon the article of the Son of God, is so perplexed, that it is difficult to conceive what he means to say.
 " The Word was from all eternity in the
 " Father; he came from the Father when he
 " spoke it; this was the substance of the
 " Father, the Essence of the Body and the
 " Soul of Jesus Christ, was the Divinity of
 " the

vin's enemies, who contributed

as

" the Word and of the Spirit; the Word
 " was a substantial Light; in the Word
 " was the substantial Seed of the generation
 " of the Man Christ Jesus;" and I can't tell
 what more. These are some of the passages
 which contain Servetus's doctrine, which,
 with others that I shall cite, will prove, if I
 am not mistaken, that his book is the fruit
 of the darkest and most disordered brain that
 ever was. " Fuit vero," says he, (117) ^{(117) De}
 " fulgor divinus, hominem ab æterno ^{Trinit.}
 " referens et cum mundo proferens. Cum ^{l. i.}
 " Johanne vero dicimus Λόγον in principio ^{Christian.}
 " mundi fuisse, idealis rationis prolationem, ^{Restita.}
 " apparentem externum Sermonem, Loqua-
 " tionem, juxta proprium significatum verbi
 " λεγω quod est, dico, loquor. Reliqui item
 " omnes Scripturæ loci Sermonem hunc ex-
 " ponunt, quia dixit Deus, loquutus est
 " Deus, non inani voce, sed Sermone visi-
 " bili. Eo magis quin Deus per hunc Ser-
 " monem, per Verbum hoc, voluit mundo
 " manifestari, et externe apparere. Anti-
 " quior quoque Apostolorum traditio Verbum
 " hoc intelligit esse in Deo dispositionem,
 " dispensationem externam lucidam et visi-
 " bilem.—Verbum manifestationis Dei dispo-
 " sitione divina fuit in ipsomet Deo, essentia
 " visibilis, oraculum in nube ut verbum quis
 " audiat et videat, magno Dei artificio, erat
 " substantiale Verbum, oraculum in igne,
 " numen quoddam visibile, personatus Deus.
 " Dicebatur Elohim, Deus humana facie
 " visus, fons luminis, fons vitæ, Christus apud
 L 2 " Deum,

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as much, and even more than he,
to

“ Deum, ab oraculo illo, verbo illo et Christi
 “ persona, personato Deo, quasi ab ore
 “ Christi prodibat Spiritus omnia vivificans, et
 “ in ipsum Adam halitum vitæ inspirans.
 “ Ad imaginem ipsius Christi secundam cor-
 “ pus et animam factus est Adam.—Verbum
 “ in Deo proferente, est ab eterno ipsemet
 “ Deus loquens et in nobis caligine apparens :
 “ post prolationem, est ipsa Christi caro, in
 “ qua videtur Deus, sublata caliginis umbra.
 “ Ipsemet homo Jesus Christus est Verbum
 “ Dei, vox Dei substantialiter ex ore Dei pro-
 “ latus. Quemadmodum si te loquente vox
 “ tua, seu ore tuo emissæ nubes, muliere
 “ postea obumbrans, fieret genituræ ros in
 “ uterum decidens et eam gravidam faciens :
 “ ita Christus prolatione Dei in Maria sub-
 “ stantialiter genitus.” And a little further,

(118) ib.
p. 50.

(118) “ Siquidem vere loquendo Verbum
 “ erat ipsamet Dei essentia aut ipsa Dei essen-
 “ tiæ exhibitio. Non erat in Deo alia sub-
 “ stantia aut hypostasis, quam Verbum illud
 “ in lucida nube in qua Deus tunc subsistere
 “ videbatur. Et in ea ipsa relucebat facies
 “ et persona Christi.” He had said before,

(119) ib.
p. 50.

(119) “ In persona intelligitur Verbum caro
 “ factum, quia vultus ille persona illa Elohim
 “ omnia creans, caro extitit. et hæc ipsa
 “ Christi facies, est illa facies Dei multis
 “ olim visa. In substantia est Verbum caro
 “ factum, quia lucida illa oraculi nubes quæ
 “ erat gloria Domini, ut ros genituræ Christi,
 “ facta est caro ista substantialiter, eademque
 “ est hujus carnis, quæ verbi illius essentia.”

Read

to Servetus's destruction; who
believing

Read likewise what follows, (120) "Totam (120) ib.

"æternitatem Deo esse dicimus instar præ-P. 56.

"sentis momenti.—Rejecto igitur velamine

"temporis medii, considera horam hanc, in

"qua corpus Christi generatur et concipitur,

"esse æternaliter ante mundi exordium Deo

"vere presentem. Quod ubi concesseris,

"concedes etiam Deum ab æterno protulisse

"substantiale Verbum, et proferendo Filium

"hunc in Maria genuisse in substantia sua:

"Primogenitus igitur est homo Christus et

"ab æterno genitus, cum prolatio illa ab

"æterno facta, sit ipsamet carnis Christi

"generatio. Essentia corporis et animæ

"Christi," says he once more, (121) "est (121) ib.

"Verbi et Spiritus Deitas. Christus ab initio P. 77, 78.

"est tum ratione corporis quam ratione

"animæ. Caro Christi habet initium essendi

"a paterna Verbi prolatione. Et Christus

"in Spiritu Dei precessit omnia tempora:

"Ille idem qui erat Spiritus Elohim est nunc

"Spiritus Christi.—Ita in Deo non fuit

"inter res illas generatio invisibilis Filii,

"sed Verbi prolatione est facta generatio post

"apparentis carnis, qui est filius Dei bene-

"dicti." Add to this, (122) "Non solum (122) ib.

"erat in Verbo idea hominis Christi, sed l. iii. P.

"substantiale semen generationis ejus—Non 122.

"diceretur homo ille esse vere Filius Dei, si

"eum simpliciter in Maria creasset, non ser-

"vata generandi ratione de substantia Patris.

"Substantia fuit seminis in Verbo substantia

"Dei nobis exhibita. Et Deus per Verbum

"quodam modo corporatus et humanatus,

believing himself well supported,
observed

(123) ib. "olim in figura nunc in veritate." If you
want a more particular explication of the
hypostasis of the Word, there it is: (123)

p. 119, "Erat oraculum quoddam in ignea nube
120.

"subsistens et splendens, quod et gloria Do-
mini dicebatur, et ejus majestas in nube
—Sicut ipse Christus est nunc oraculum;
ut olim in templo, in tabernaculo et antea;
persona Christi erat oraculum illud, unde
Adam, Abraham, Moses, et alii accipie-
bant responsa.—Ex lege colligitur Verbi
hypostasis in nube illa, quæ fuit semen
genituræ Christi, substantia ipsa Verbi fuit;
substantia archetypæ nubis, quæ fuit sub-
stantialis ros, terream massam irrigans
ut inde germinaret Christus—Substantia
eadem erat nubis, ignis et lucis. Non in-
quam creatæ et caliginosæ elementaris
nubis, sed increatæ, et superelementaris
intus lucentis erat Deus in igne, et Deus
ipse ignis." The Word however was not
God only, as you understand it here; see what

(124) ib. is more distinct: (124) "Imo ille qui dixit;
p. 105.

"*Faciamus hominem* erat Christus, erat Elohim,
persona illa Verbi quæ erat persona Dei.—
Ipse vero est facies, imago, effigies, et
figura Dei, habens in se realiter formas
corporeas—Non est sine significatione quod
in veteri testamento toties in Deo legas
manus, oculos, faciem et pedes, corpora-
libus oculis visos, et quod nihil horum
in novo testamento reperiatur, sed ejus
oppositum, nempe *Deus spiritus est*. Ratio
est in promptu, quia tunc Christi apud
Deum

observed no measures with Calvin

or

“ Deum persona figurabatur. Non erat tunc
 “ realis distinctio Patris a Filio, sed ipsi Deo
 “ tribuebantur formæ corporeæ, quæ nunc
 “ sunt in Filio. — Verbum illud, (125) per- (125) ib.
 “ sona illa, seu vultus ille Elohim, plus erat P. 116.
 “ quam imago, erat ipsamet facies Dei, ipse-
 “ met Deus. Erat effigies quædam sed forma
 “ ipsum esse Dei continens.” This is not all;
 “ De substantia Dei est caro ipsa Christi; in
 “ ea videtur Deus; ipsa caro Christi habet
 “ esse Dei, et est corporalis Deitas (126); caro (126) Di-
 “ Christi substantiam Verbi habens corpora- alog. 2.
 “ liter substantialem ipsum, vitalem Spiritum ibid. p.
 “ divinum, et lucis Dei formam substantialem, 249, 250.
 “ est vero cælestis de cælo, de substantia Dei, 271, 272.
 “ illa caro Verbi, caro Dei existentiam habens
 “ æternam. — Nisi caro ipsa Christi esset
 “ cælestis, de substantia Dei et corporalis
 “ Deitas, non esset ex Deo genita, et ita
 “ non esset Filius Dei. — Qui non concedunt
 “ carnem Christi esse consubstantialem Deo,
 “ inaniter se Christi Divinitatem defendere
 “ nugantur.”

IV. Would you know how the creation was performed according to Servetus? Comprehend, if you can, what I am now to extract. (127) (127) ib.
 “ Sicut in Deo fuit prius semen generationis, de Trin.
 “ quam esset factus realis Filius Dei, ita in l. iv. p.
 “ aliis generationibus hunc ordinem servari 146, 149,
 “ voluit Creator: vere fuit in Deo substan- 150.
 “ tiale semen Christi, et in eo rerum omnium
 “ seminales rationes et exemplares formæ. —
 “ In Deo erat prima Christi relucencia, sola
 “ princeps omnium, deinde reliqua, per
 “ ipsam,

or his Judges; if he had had the
least

“ ipsam, in ipsa, et ex ipsa, secundario modo
“ fuit ordinibus dependentia. Sapientiam
“ hanc dicimus principem ac mundi præsi-
“ dem quam in creatione manifestavit Deus.
“ Verbum visibile angelis et hominibus
“ exhibere ac per illam sui exhibitionem
“ omnia creans. Per *Deitatem quæ est nunc*
“ *in re quavis*, potest Deus nunc novum
“ mundum creare, et per illam hypostatice
“ apparere, quanto magis per Deitatem
“ Christi? Si de se ipso Deus accepit figuram
“ et substantiam omnium creaturarum, quanto
“ magis accepit figuram et substantiam
“ Christi? Sine sui mutatione se potest hic
“ nobis Deus visibilem exhibere et palpabilem
“ in quavis forma. Cum ille in se ipso for-
“ mas omnes, et corpora omnia essentialiter
“ contineat, illam tamen Christi formam ab
“ æterno cogitans, primam constituit vitæ
“ scaturiginem quam in creatione et incar-
“ natione patefecit——Cogitatio illa Dei erat
“ hujus filii generatio; non erat tunc realis
“ Filius a Patre distinctus, sed erat naturalis
“ scientia Dei, vitam jam agens.”

We must see what he says a little lower;

(128) ib. (128) “ Sequitur Deum in principio vere ex
P. 154. “ nihilo et sine præsupposita materia, creasse
“ duplex cælum, unicam terram et lucem;
“ reliqua omnia creata postea dicuntur, quia
“ sunt vere de non esse, ad esse producta.
“ Non tamen sunt creata prima illa creatione
“ ex nihilo, et sine præ-existente materia.
“ Vere est tunc aqua creata, ex aqua vero
“ sunt cæli, ex aqua per evaporationem est
“ aer,

least modesty or discretion, I
doubt

“ aer, ex aerea tandem cocta materia et luce
 “ est ipse ignis, qui et aere fovetur. Imo
 “ flamma ipsa est aer accensus. Luminaria
 “ die quarto non creavit Deus sed fecit ex
 “ cæli concreta materia.—Sequitur Thaletem
 “ illum Milesium—non male dixisse ex aqua
 “ esse omnia—jam constat esse prius factam
 “ terram quam cælum—duplex est cælum
 “ creatum et tertium increatum.” On this
 occasion you will be taught what this third
 heaven is, which is increated: “ Tertium
 “ vero ultra hæc omnia est cælum Divinitatis,
 “ lux inaccessa quam Pater inhabitat, quod
 “ dicitur cælum cælorum.—Hoc cælum
 “ inhabitat Christus, et ab eo splendorem
 “ accipiunt angeli longe inferiores qui hoc
 “ tantum vident, quod eis per Christum
 “ datur, hoc luminosum et igneum cælum
 “ est Verbi fulgor, rerum exemplar univer-
 “ sale, Deitas ipsa per Christum factum ac-
 “ cessibilis.—Tertium cælum non habet
 “ peculiarem locum sed intra nos est et instar
 “ ignis omnia penetrat.” (129) Let us give (129) ib.
 the conclusion. (130) “ Ultimo ex præmissis p. 158.
 “ comprobatur vetus illa sententia, omnia (130) p.
 “ esse unum quia omnia sunt unum in Deo, 168.
 “ in quo uno consistunt. Unicum est prin-
 “ cipium, unica verbi lux, lux uniformis,
 “ et caput omnium, Jesus Christus Dominus
 “ noster principium creaturarum Dei.”

V. Are you desirous to know what the
 Holy Spirit is? Conceive, if you can, the de- (131) de
 finitions Servetus gives of him: (131) “ Erat Trin. l.
 “ Spiritus in archetypo spirationis constitutio v. p. 163.
 “ certa

doubt not but he might have brought

“ certa sempiternæ in Deo constans, et inde
 “ velut exiens. Prodebat cum Sermone Spiritus,
 “ Deus loquendo spirabat, Sermonis et Spi-
 “ ritus erat eadem substantia sed modus
 “ diversus—Imo secluso, creato, halitu,
 “ substantia Spiritus Sancti, realiter differt a
 “ substantia Filii—Alius tamen et alius Divi-
 “ nitatis modus—Spiritus Sanctus ante huma-
 “ nationem Verbi, in se erat vere modus
 “ Deitatis substantialis, Spiritus homini non
 “ ita hypostatice unitus. Nunc substantialem
 “ habet adjunctionem perpetuam humani
 “ Spiritus Christi—Modus divinus et substan-
 “ tialis, est Spiritus Sanctus, modus æternus
 “ in Deo, et ejus plenitudo in Christo. Mo-
 “ dus æternus in Deo erat, in mente præ-
 “ formatio quædam.” (132)

(132) ib.
 p. 184,
 186.

If you don't understand this, examine what follows: (133) “ Ut omnia summam con-
 “ cludamus; Spiritus Sanctus in paucis
 “ diffinitur, Spiritus Sanctus est substantialis
 “ modus divinus, spiritui angeli et hominis
 “ accomodus. Quanquam Spiritus Sanctus
 “ substantialiter unum faciat, cum ea quæ
 “ est in Christo Spiritus creatura sanctificata,
 “ nihilominus *in se pura Deitas* intelligitur,
 “ Secundum dispensationis modum est ex
 “ Deitate Deitas, sicut in ramulis et floribus
 “ est Deitas, ex Deitate seminis et radicis,
 “ sicut in palmitibus est Deitas ex Deitate vitis,
 “ successione quadam distributionis divinæ. Vere
 “ ergo est Spiritus Sanctus modus substan-
 “ tialis a Patre et Filio distinctus, procedens
 “ sensibilis,

brought himself off, but flattering
ing

“sensibilis, subsistens, aliud hic aliud ibi
“loquens et agens.”

VI. What I have marked in Italick in the last section, naturally leads me to examine if Servetus has adopted the system of the (το πᾶν) *whole*, i. e. Spinoza's system; he was accused of it, and his answers gave a great deal of reason to fix it upon him: We may also see more clearly that he believed that God is the Universe, and that the Universe is God; by joining some passages of his book, he says; (134) “Non est Deus instar puncti (134) ib. “sed est substantiæ pelagus infinitum, omnia^{l. iv. p.} “essentians, omnia esse faciens, et omnium^{125, 129,} “essentias sustinens.—Unam solam rem esse^{130.} “dicimus, et habere infinitorum millium “essentias, et infinitorum millium naturas. “Non solum innumerabilis est Deus, ratione “rerum quibus communicatur, sed ratione “modorum ipsius Deitatis, modi divini sunt “in rebus ineffabiles, in ipso Deo ab æterno “præformati.—Rerum omnium essentia est “ipse Deus. Deus ipse est comprehensio et “continentia rerum omnium—Omnia sunt “in ipso; ipse dat esse rebus, et singulis “formis ipsum esse formale; in essentia sua “rerum omnium ideas continens, est veluti “pars formalis omnium:” add what follows, (135) “Deus ubique est rerum omnium (135) ib. “essentia plenus. Rerum omnium essentiam^{epist. 6. p.} “in se continet, ut sola sua essentia sine alia^{588, 589.} “creatura se hic nobis exhibere possit, ut “ignem, ut aurum, ut lapidem, ut electrum, “ut virgam, ut florem, ut aliud quodvis. “—Deus

ing himself with a triumph over
Calvin

“—Deus in ligno est, lignum in lapide, lapis
“ in se habens esse lapidis; concedam igitur
“ hunc esse vere lapidem, quoad essentiam
“ formæ, quamquam desit materia lapidis;
“ concedam quoque ignem illum esse verum
“ ignem et esse id ipsum quod Deus.—Loco
“ item moveatur ignis ille, aut aura divini
“ Spiritus, aut lapis aut flos, an movetur
“ tunc Deus? Deus ubique semper existens
“ immobilis, nec loco movetur, nec ob
“ ostensam illam formam alteratur, sed sunt
“ illi modi dispensationis, seu exhibitionis
“ divinæ, qua se nobis ut vult vere Deus
“ exhibet, et in rebus agit.”

(136) ib.
epist. 7. p.
593.

He says besides, (136) “Quæ vere sunt;
“ in Deo sunt, et bona sunt facta, quamquam
“ actibus malis sunt quædam postea deprava-
“ vata, ut diabolus ipse et animus pravus,
“ qui etiam Deo insunt cum insitis accidenti-
“ bus et a Deo ita sustinentur.—In Deo
“ omnia consistunt, accidentia Deo insunt;
“ atque ita Deo accidunt, quicquid in rerum
“ natura accidit Deo semper accidit, seu
“ Deo incidit, non præter spem sed Deo
“ suscipiente.” Not only the devil is in
God, so as depraved spirits, but hell is no
other thing but God himself. As God is the
principle and end of all things, they return
at last to him, but to have a very different
fate; the devils and the wicked shall return
to their principle, and in going into eternal
fire, they shall go to God himself. “Ignis
“ ille ab æterno paratus est ipsemet Deus qui
“ est ignis, non est enim creatura aliqua Deo
“ coætæna.

Calvin by the credit of the party
which

“ coæterna. In igne est ostensus Mosi Deus,
“ et ignis a Deo passim exivit in ultionem,
“ indicans se esse ignem ulciscntem et in
“ iudicio consumentem. Potentissimum ju-
“ dicem decet in se ipso habere quo malos
“ puniat nec ulterius egere. Ipse est princi-
“ pium et finis omnium, et sicut omnia ab
“ ipso prodierunt ita omnia remanentia ad
“ ipsum ridibunt, sorte tamen inequali. Si
“ hoc bene intellexisset Origines, non dixisset
“ dæmones salvandos, eo quod essent ad suum
“ principium redituri, redibunt quidem, et
“ euntes in ignem ad ipsumet Deum ibunt.”

(137)

(137) ib.
dial. i. p.
245.

That which he teaches about regeneration
is founded upon the same principles, and his
system *That all is God, and That God is all,*
prevails every where; says he, (138) “ Ut

“ vero cælestem hanc novi hominis substan-
“ tialem divinam generationem penitus affe-
“ quaris, lector christiane, repetenda tibi
“ sunt quæ sæpius diximus, Creatoris sub-
“ stantiam esse creaturæ, in unum plasma
“ varie unitam tam in animo quam in corpore,
“ quorum omnium specimen est Christus.
“ Diximus vitalem Christi Spiritum esse ha-
“ litum quendam, qui elementorum veram
“ substantiam continet, sed incorruptibilem
“ et novam. Sicut Verbum Dei est hyposta-
“ tice homo, ita Spiritus Dei est hyposta-
“ tice spiritus hominis, et ita se totum nobis
“ communicat. In gratiam nostri est Spiritus
“ Christi Deo adglutinator, ut ita se nobis
“ communicet, et Deo nobis adglutinet, Spi-
“ ritus

(138) De
Fide et
Justitia
Regn.
Christi.
l. iv. p.
549, 550.

which opposed this reformer;
he

“ritus ipse Christi humanus Deo in unum
“adglutinator, per resurrectionis gloriam et
“potentiam est innovatus, sicut et caro ipsa.
“Anima ejus hinc dicitur innovata ob novam
“Deitatem, et novam incorruptibilem vitalis
“Spiritus substantiam. Ab eo item animæ
“nostræ fide restitutæ substantialiter inno-
“vantur, cum Christum totum, ordine nan-
“ciscuntur.” And a little further on;

(139) ib. “Hanc incorruptibilitatem (139) ita animæ
P. 552. “nostræ substantialiter conjungit Christus, ut
“aliā dicas esse regentis animam quam
“ante: propter substantiam innovatam et
“novam Deitatem conjunctam. Sicut ergo
“vere est in nobis intiger Spiritus ejus. Sicut
“animæ nostræ sanguine ipso Christi vero
“reficitur, ita et vitali ipso Spiritu in san-
“guine sito. Vere et realiter sunt in nobis
“cælestia, incorruptibilia qualia Christus in
“cælo nunc substantialiter habet, superiora
“elementa, per quæ ipsi animæ nostræ sub-
“stantialiter jungitur corpus ipsum Christi in
“interno homine.”

That which is very remarkable is, that Servetus nevertheless maintained that God is incorporeal, invisible; but from the manner in which he expresses himself, we can't but conclude however, that God is material, and he seems at the same time to suppose that God is the Soul of the world, that he is diffused every where, and who modifies himself without division, according to the bodies with which he is united. His words are, (140) “Si in
“rebus corporeis est Deus, et res corporeas
“in

(140) de
Trip. l.
iii. p. 120,
121.

he was the victim of his pride
and

“ in se refert, non ob id sequitur ipsum
 “ esse corporeum. Nam Deus ipse essentia
 “ sua est mens omniformis. Ut in anima
 “ tua sunt rerum corporearum et divisibilium
 “ formæ, ita in Deo. In eo essentialiter,
 “ in te accidentaliter. Incorporeus in se Deus
 “ et imperceptibilis, ratione mirabile nobis
 “ prolata per Verbum se exhibuit percepti-
 “ bilem et in Verbo erat Spiritus. Hoc non
 “ arguit in Deo corpus, sed ineffabilem et
 “ omniformem mentis rationem. Ipsius in-
 “ tellectus est hæc mira potentia ut in eo
 “ reluceat corporis ratio. Absque divisione
 “ vel mutatione, fitas esse in Deo formas
 “ visibiles, sequens liber aperte docebit. Di-
 “ visibilis non est Deus, nec divisibilis est
 “ Verbi substantia, cum divisibile sit corrupti-
 “ bile. Incorporeum vero, instar imaginarii
 “ puncti, sicut nec animarum, substantia ipsa
 “ spiritus Dei, a qua Angeli et animæ emana-
 “ runt; non erat instar puncti, sed instar
 “ substantiæ flatus elementaris; et elementaris
 “ hujus erat archetypa in mente divina.”

VII. When Servetus talks of the nature of the soul, he is equally unintelligible; and we cannot but believe that he conceived it material. We shall give the passage here, although it is pretty long, because we find in it what regards the circulation of the blood. This place is not at all exact in Mr. la Roche, nor in F. Niceron, who has copied him. The passage is, (141) “ Dicitur in nobis ex trium (141) ib.
 “ superiorum elementorum substantia esse l. v. p.
 “ spiritus triplexi, naturalis, vitalis, et ani- 169, 179.
 “ malis—

and prejudice; this is the only way

“ malis—Vere non sunt tres sed duo spiritus
 “ distincti. Vitalis est spiritus, qui per anas-
 “ tomoses ab arteriis communicatur venis, in
 “ quibus dicitur naturalis. Primus ergo est
 “ sanguis, cujus sedes est in hepate et corporis
 “ venis. Secundus est spiritus vitalis, cujus
 “ sedes est in corde et corporis arteriis. Ter-
 “ tius est spiritus animalis, quasi lucis radius,
 “ cujus sedes est in cerebro et corporis nervis.
 “ Per inspirationem in os et nares est vere
 “ inducta anima, inspiratio autem ad cor
 “ tendit, cor est primum vivens, fons caloris,
 “ in medio corpore. Ab hepate sumit liquo-
 “ rem vitæ, quasi materiam et eum vice
 “ versa vivificat—Ex hepatis sanguine est
 “ animæ materia, per elaborationem mira-
 “ bilem—hinc dicitur anima esse in sanguine,
 “ et anima ipsa esse sanguis sive sanguineus
 “ spiritus—Ad quam rem est prius intelli-
 “ genda substantialis generatio ipsius vitalis
 “ spiritus, qui ex aere inspirato et subtilissimo
 “ sanguine componitur et nutritur, vitalis
 “ spiritus in sinistro cordis ventriculo suam
 “ originem habet, juvantibus maxime pul-
 “ monibus ad ipsius generationem. Est spi-
 “ ritus tenuis caloris vi elaboratus, flavo
 “ colore, ignea potentia, ut sit quasi ex
 “ puriori sanguine lucidus vapor, substan-
 “ tiam in se continens aquæ, aeris et ignis;
 “ generatur ex facta in pulmonibus mixtione
 “ inspirati aeris cum elaborato subtili sanguine,
 “ quem dexter ventriculus cordis sinistro com-
 “ municat. Fit autem communicatio hæc,
 “ non per parietem cordis mediam, ut vulgo
 “ creditur,

way of explaining his constant
conduct

“ creditur, sed magno artificio, a dextro
 “ cordis ventriculo, longo per pulmones
 “ ducta, agitur sanguis subtilis. A pulmonibus
 “ præparatur, flavus efficitur et a vena arteriosa
 “ in arteriam venosam transfunditur: deinde
 “ in ipsa arteria venosa, inspirato aere misce-
 “ tur, et expiratione a fuligine repurgatur.
 “ Atque ita tandem a sinistro cordis ventri-
 “ culo, totum mixtum per diastolem attra-
 “ hitur, apta suppellex ut fiat spiritus vitalis.
 “ Quod ita per pulmones fiat communicatio
 “ et præparatio docet conpunctio varia, et
 “ communicatio venæ arteriosæ cum arteria
 “ venosa in pulmonibus. Confirmat hoc
 “ magnitudo insignis venæ arteriosæ, quæ
 “ nec talis nec tanta facta esset, nec tantam a
 “ corde ipso vim purissimi sanguinis in pul-
 “ mones emitteret, ob solum eorum emolu-
 “ mentum, nec cor pulmonibus hac ratione
 “ serviret: cum præsertim antea in embryone
 “ solerent pulmones ipsi aliunde nutriri, ob
 “ membranulas illas, seu valvulas cordis,
 “ usque ad horum nativitatis nondum apertas,
 “ ut docet Galenus. Ergo ad alium usum
 “ effunditur sanguis a corde in pulmones
 “ hora ipsa nativitatis, et tam copiosus---ille
 “ itaque spiritus vitalis a sinistro cordis ven-
 “ triculo in arterias totius corporis deinde
 “ transfunditur, ita ut quis tenuior est, supe-
 “ riora petat, ubi magis adhuc elaboratur
 “ præcipue in plexu retiformi, sub basi
 “ cerebri sito, in quo ex vitali fieri incipit
 “ animalis, ad propriam rationalis animæ
 “ sedem accedens, iterum fortius mentis
 “ ignea vi tenuatur, elaboratur et perficitur

M

in

LIFE OF SERVETUS.

conduct at Geneva, in all respects
so

“ in tenuissimis vasis, seu capillaribus arteriis,
 “ quæ in plexibus choroidibus fixæ sunt, et
 “ ipsissimam mentem continent.---In vasis illis
 “ est mens, anima et igneus spiritus, jugi
 “ flabellatione indigens, alioqui instar externi
 “ ignis conclusus suffocaretur.---Animali illi
 “ et igneo spiritui in illis choroidis vasculis
 “ contento, communicatur inspiratus aer,
 “ parte exigua, per ossa dicta ethmoide,
 “ tendens ad priores duos cerebri ventriculos,
 “ inincipitis dextra, et sinistra constitutos.
 “ ubique capillares illæ choroidis arteriæ
 “ aerem, illum dilatatæ hauriunt ad venti-
 “ landam animam---ille deinceps inspiratus in
 “ cerebrum aer a duobus ventriculis anteri-
 “ oribus fertur ad medium, sive ad meatum
 “ quendam communem, concursu sub psal-
 “ loide facto, ubi lucidior et purior est
 “ mentis pars, quæ divinitus innata sibi
 “ idearum semina exerens, ex semel jam ap-
 “ prehensis imaginibus, potest res novas
 “ similitudine quadam cogitare, sive compo-
 “ nere, imaginata commiscere, ex aliis alia
 “ inferre, inter ea discernere, et puram ipsam
 “ veritatem colligere, lustrante Deo.---Parte
 “ alia majore inspiratus aer per tracheam
 “ arteriam venosam transeat, in qua flavo et
 “ subtili sanguini miscetur, ac magis elabo-
 “ ratur. Deinde totum mixtum a sinistro
 “ cordis ventriculo diastole attrahitur---Hoc
 “ totum veluti materia est ipsius animæ ultra
 “ totum hoc mixtum duo in anima supersunt,
 “ quod vivens spiratione creatum, aut in sua
 “ materia productum est Spiritus ipse seu
 “ Divinitas

so different from his behaviour at

Vienne

“ Divinitas ipsa spirando insita, omnia unum
 “ et anima una. Id medium quod principa-
 “ liter anima dicitur, habitus est Spiritus,
 “ utrinque cum Spiritu essentialiter junctus.
 “ Substantia est ætherea, illi archetypæ su-
 “ perelementari, et huic quoque inferiori
 “ similis: naturalis anima una vitalis et ani-
 “ malis. Ecce totam animæ rationem et
 “ quare anima omnis carnis, in sanguine ut
 “ et anima ipsa sanguis sit---Nam afflante
 “ Deo, inspirata per os, nares et cor, et
 “ cerebrum, ipsius Adæ et natorum ejus illa
 “ cælestis Spiritus aura, sive idealis scintilla
 “ et spirituali illi sanguineæ materiæ intus
 “ essentialiter juncta, facta est in ejus visce-
 “ ribus anima, hoc modo tam dissimiles sub-
 “ stantias posse coire, post Chaldaeos docu-
 “ erunt academici---Duo sunt in semine
 “ quæ sunt de essentia animæ Patris. Ea
 “ sunt formalis, seu formatrix facultas est
 “ lux ipsa et idea. Ex semine manifeste
 “ eliciuntur animantium aliorum animæ, ac
 “ etiam humanæ, accidente ipsi homini
 “ divinæ mentis habitu, in ea idea, quam
 “ feminis exigit ratio, ad quam anima for-
 “ matur.” I willingly refer it to the adepts
 to guess if the soul is any thing more than
 the blood. I ought to add, that Servetus
 pretends to explain in the same taste, all the
 operations of the soul, but it is impossible
 to follow him in all the particular turns he
 takes. Perhaps this note will be thought
 excessively long; my excuse is, that I believed
 it would be well taken to make the absurdity

LIFE OF SERVETUS.

and extravagance of the most part of Servetus's notions more particularly known.

VIII. We shall draw up under this last head, some opinions of this man become so famous, upon other detached points, that perhaps are but little known. Is any one fond to know in a few words, how he formed his notions of the Trinity? For he owned it; we shall see that his system as to this, is founded on Sabellianism, as was observed in the beginning; "Unde," says he,

(142) "totam nunc collige Trinitatis ratio-
 Dial. ii. "nem. Pater est Deus, Filius est Deus,
 P. 274. "Spiritus Sanctus est Deus. Pater non est
 "Filius, nec Filius est Spiritus Sanctus,
 "nec Spiritus Sanctus est Pater juxta Per-
 "sonæ proprietatem. In Filio a nobis
 "videtur Pater, et in Spiritu Sancto intus
 "a nobis videtur Filius. Realiter Filius
 "differt a Patre, et a Filio Spiritus Sanctus,
 "non essentialiter, quia est eadem Deitatis
 "essentia. Pater est totius dispensationis,
 "et Deitatis origo, simpliciter Deus, sine
 "creaturæ admixtione, vel participatione
 "aliqua, in se consideratus incomprehen-
 "sibilis. Filius Deitatem habet Patris cum
 "corporali participatione creaturæ. Spiritus
 "Sanctus Deitatem habet Patris et Filii,
 "creaturæ quoque participationem a Filio
 "accipiens, per quam procedit." Original
 sin consists in this, that by the fall of Adam,
 the Devil has acquired the power of per-
 verting the body and the soul, and throwing
 the motions of this last into disorder, by
 instigating us; especially when his lessons
 begin to get the ascendant over us about
 twenty years of age. (143) "Omne itaque
 "mali-

“ mali genus a serpente et Adam ducit origi-
 “ nem: et incipit in nobis quando scientiam
 “ boni et mali habere incipimus, stimulante
 “ nos doctore serpente, idque a puero. Adam
 “ est causa efficiens nostræ perditionis, quia
 “ ob ejus delictum facta est serpenti potestas,
 “ ut corporis et animi corruptionem causet,
 “ et inordinatus reddat omnes partes animæ
 “ nostræ, quando nos suam scientiam docere
 “ incipit—tempore quo prævalere incipit illa
 “ Satanae mala scientia, prævalere etiam
 “ incipit in homine luxuriæ stimulus, an-
 “ gelus Satana, circa annum vicesimum.”

We are not susceptible of true salutary in-
 struction, until thirty years of age; and
 then it is, we ought to be baptized, after
 the example of Jesus Christ; and then it is,
 we are regenerated. “ Triginta annorum

“ Christus baptismum accepit, exemplum
 “ nobis dans, ac nos ita docens, ante eam
 “ ætatem non esse quem satis aptum ad
 “ mysteria regni cælorum.—Sicut primus
 “ Adam tricesimo anno nascitur, ita cum
 “ secundo nos tricesimo anno renascemur.”

(144) He rails in the most outrageous man- (144) ib.
 ner against the baptism of infants, which l. ii. p.
 we may judge of by his conclusion of this 412.

subject. (145) “ Pædobaptismum esse dico (145) ib.

“ detestandam abominationem, Spiritus Sancti l. iv. p.

“ extinctionem, ecclesiæ Dei desolationem, 576.

“ totius professionis christianæ confusionem,

“ innovationis per Christum factæ aboliti-

“ onem, ac totius ejus regni conculcati-

“ onem.” Calvin does not appear to have

understood clearly, what he said concerning

the soul's becoming mortal by sin, for he

does not seem to speak of any thing else

but

but a spiritual mortality. "Animæ essen-
 "tiam corruptibilibus carnis elementis in
 (146) ib. "aurum alligatum, (146) ita per Adam,
 p. 151. "Satana occidit, ut sit quodam modo anima
 "reddita mortalis——non quod in nihilum
 "anima redeat, sicut nec caro, sed moritur
 "quando cum dolore vitalibus actionibus
 "privatur, et in inferno languius detinetur,
 "quasi non amplius victura, contra vero
 "per Christum sunt animæ redditæ im-
 "mortales, sicut caro immortalis." I shall
 not rehearse all the invectives of Servetus
 against those who admit the doctrine of the
 Trinity; they so far surpass what we can
 conceive, that neither the rudeness of that
 age, nor the persuasion of its representing
 God in a wrong light, can make any apo-
 logy for language so odious, and so out-
 rageous against a doctrine held in veneration
 by almost all the christian church. Neither
 is he more reserved when he talks of the
 Pope, and the church of Rome; and sup-
 posing there had been no heresy in his whole
 book, what he says upon this subject was
 sufficient to have condemned him to the
 flames, by the Roman catholicks in the time
 when he lived. According to Servetus, the
 Pope is Antichrist, the Beast to whom the
 Dragon has given his power, Rome is Ba-
 bylon, the antient seat of Satan, where the
 Beast continues in the same idolatrous prac-
 tices as before; the practices of the Maho-
 metans are preferable to those of Rome.:
 in a word, the whole second book of the
 treatise *de Regeneratione*, contain the most
 violent invectives against the Roman church,
 and against its worship; and on this occasion,
 against

against the Trinity, which he looked upon
 as a contrivance of the Popes. I might
 produce very extensive passages to justify
 what I have said; I shall confine myself
 only to some few, whereby a judgment may
 be formed of the rest. (147) "Ipsemet est
 "draco ille magnus serpens antiquus, qui
 "est diabolus et Satanas, seductor orbis,
 "qui potestatem suam Babylonice Bestie
 "id est papae dedit—Qui papisticos ritus
 "vere intelligit non esse secundum Christum,
 "vere intelligit papam esse Antichristum,
 "qui Christi regnum occupans, Christo con-
 "traria statuat, et Christo contraria faciat—
 "Babylonem esse Romam non est quod du-
 "bitetur—Hæc Satanae antiqua sedes dicta
 "nunc sedes Apostolica—Adde quod in
 "urbe ipsa fuit insignis pontificatus ad ido-
 "latriam. Pontifex ipse Satanas parentalis,
 "iuxta funebria, placandos manes, inferias
 "exsequias, et alia pro mortuis suffragia,
 "ab Æneæ seculo Romæ docuerat; quos
 "omnes ritus ab ipso Satana instructa
 "Bestia ad unguem nunc servat—sicut ubi
 "colebatur Hecate ~~trix~~ *trix* ~~Callos~~, ita nunc a
 "tricheitis colitur triceps Cerberus tres in uno
 "ranarum Spiritus—In hoc Papistis Ma-
 "humetani præferendi, quod idola abhorrent,
 "et idololatriam papisticam maxime detes-
 "tantur. Quanquam Deus nec in manu-
 "factis templis habitet nec manibus huma-
 "nis colatur, sed solo Spiritu; sacerdotes
 "tamen Papistici, varia templa variorum
 "sanctorum cultibus dedicant, et cadavera
 "multa super altaria recondunt statuas, idola,
 "et simulacra aurea, argentea, ærea, ferrea,
 "figinea, lapideæ, variis picturis pulchre ador-
 "nata,

" nata, illis fabre faciunt, cadaverum reli-
 " quias, intra idola reponunt, super humeros
 " portant, hunc orantes pro pesti, illum
 " pro tonitruis, et pro aliis morbis, alios
 " ad hunc pro bobus, ad illum pro ovibus,
 " ad alios pro equis et asinis peregrinationes
 " instituunt, et vota vovent. imo tot sunt
 " divo quod oppida et pagi—Unumquod-
 " que artificum genus, fabrorum, futorum,
 " tonsorum, et reliquorum suos habet pecu-
 " liares divos, quibus festa colit et bacha-
 " nalia convivia."

After all this, what must we think of
 Servetus, who lived at Vienne, professing
 a religion of which he draws such a shock-
 ing picture; who was a partaker in its wor-
 ship, and who protested in the examination
 he underwent, that he submitted himself to
 the decision of the church? The least, certainly,
 that we can say of him is, that he was a
 great hypocrite, and at the same time, he
 must have had a strong dose of enthusiasm,
 or an unbounded ambition to make himself a
 man of consequence, by the singularity of
 his opinions, in having written and caused
 to be printed such a book as the *Restitutio*
Christianismi: although he did not put his
 name to it, could he without the greatest
 folly, flatter himself he would remain un-
 known? And notwithstanding the remarkable
 difference between this book and his first
 works upon the same subject, there was
 always conformity enough to detect them:
 besides, he could not remain unknown, when
 he made the letters which he wrote to Cal-
 vin, be printed; these alone were sufficient
 to discover him: there is no great appear-
 ance

Vienne [X], The 22d of September,

ance that Calvin mistook the author from this particular, and much less that he would be at pains to conceal it. I shall finish this long note by observing, that if we examine the whole system of Servetus, we shall be forced to own, that it is the most absurd and obscure, that ever entered into the mind of man; and I dare say, if his work was common, it would perhaps be the most despicable book that ever was, and we would give ourselves no trouble about it. Some books have no other merit but their scarcity; it is supposed they contain great mysteries, and there is infinite pains taken to find them out, but we are altogether surprised sometimes, to find nothing in them but the most absurd imaginations.

(X) *In all respects so different from his behaviour at Vienne.*] It is not easy to conceive, how a man who had so much address as to extricate himself out of the danger he was in at Vienne, should become so obstinate and inflexible all at once, that he should rather chuse to be burnt, than make the least act of submission. The truth is, that Servetus flattered himself, and that protected as he was, he did not believe he run the least risk of his life. Let us canvass this part of his history, and we shall find circumstances in it, which say a great deal for absolving Calvin. There was in Geneva at that time, a dispute about jurisdiction between the Magistrates and the Consistory; the rigid discipline introduced by Calvin, displeased

tember, he presented another petition, requesting that Calvin should be punished as a calumniator, which was accompanied with displeased a great many people, they wanted to moderate its severity, by establishing an appeal to the magistracy. This was the same thing as an attack upon Calvin himself, who not being disposed to yield, would have been undone without recovery, if they had succeeded. A passage from Beza will put these conjectures in their proper light. (148) "At face to the " this time when they were taken up in Comment " opposing the heresies of Servetus, there of Joshu. " was a dangerous conspiracy secretly hatch- ap. Bibl. " ing in the city, which tended to the de- Raif. t. 2. " struction of the Church, in taking from p. 108, " it the exercise of discipline; for some of 109. vid. " the grandees, who held, or who had usurped Dreline. " the most part of the power of the govern- def. of Calvin. p. " ment of affairs, were not fond of the word 329, 332. " of God being preached with boldness and " efficacy. To these resorted certain de- " bauched and incorrigible persons, who, for " very good reasons, were forbid the Sacra- " ment by the Consistory—Not being able, " and indeed not daring to abolish the Con- " sistory—they endeavoured to effectuate, " that when the Consistory should deprive " any person of the Sacrament, the Council " might have power to absolve them, and " give them permission to receive it.—But " while the Consistory and the Ministry " opposed this mischief by strong remon- " strances,

with several articles he demanded Calvin to be interrogated upon.

(w) The 10th of October Ser-
vetus returned to the charge by
a

(w) Bibl.
Angl. c.
2. p. 145.
152.

“frances, one Amied Perrin, (149) at that (149) He
“time first Syndic, in order to make a be- is called
“ginning of this practice—gave letters to Amedee
“one Garnement, a favourite of his, for Garri and
“receiving the Sacrament, who had been Amed
“interdicted. They believed that neither Gartin by
“Calvin nor the rest durst refuse it, when some.
“these letters were presented in full assem-
“bly; or in case they did refuse, this would
“raise a sedition, in which the Ministers
“would be the chief sufferers; Calvin,
“although he was not advertised of this
“conspiracy till two days before the first
“Sunday of September, which was the next
“Sacrament day, resolved at all hazards to
“do his duty.—It cost the Council a long
“time to break the neck of this under-
“taking, which lasted about a year.”

By this we see that there was a division at Geneva, when the affair of Servetus happened, and that the disputes were at the highest in the month of September, 1553, when the Spanish physician demanded that his cause should be brought before the Council of two hundred. This hint was probably suggested to him by the Syndic; what gives occasion to think so, is, that this very Magistrate proposed afterwards, the remitting of the cause of Servetus to the two hundred, as Calvin tells him, who was excessively piqued against

a new request, wherein we may see, that this miserable man was in the most deplorable condition; notwithstanding the orders which had

against the Syndic, to whom he gave the
 (150) Ep. nickname of comical Cæsar. (150) "Cæsar
 ad Farel. "comicus, simulato per triduum morbo, in
 Oct. 26, "curiam tandem ascendit, ut sceleratum
 1553, "istum poena eximeret. Neque enim cru-
 "buit petere, ut cognitio ad ducentos ve-
 "niret." The reason why they wanted to
 bring this cause before this last tribunal,
 was, because the sovereignty resides in the
 Council of two hundred, and consequently
 the right of making new laws, or repealing
 the old, belongs only to them; so that they
 could suspend the execution of the penal laws
 which were then in force at Geneva, as we
 shall see in the sequel. The carrying the
 cause of Servetus before the Council of two
 hundred, was making Calvin run a very great
 risque; and by this we see, that Servetus
 had some reason to flatter himself. "These
 "who favoured him," says Mr. la Roche,
 (151) Bi. (151) "no doubt had made him hope
 Angl. t. "that he could save his life; and it was
 2. p. 162. "that, which kept him from observing any
 "measures." I even believe, that if this had
 not happened, he would have defended him-
 self by speaking or writing much better.
 And certainly it was for the same reason that
 he requested not to be delivered over to the
 Judges of Vienne, which evidently proves
 that our Spaniard reckoned too much upon
 the

had been given. As the process of this physician was an affair of the utmost importance, the magistrates of Geneva thought pro-

per the protection of Calvin's enemies, and that a little more good conduct and reserve, would have saved him, which is testified by Beza and by Calvin himself. The first of these says, (152) "Fuit autem horum omnium (152) Vit. Calv. an. 1553. at the beginning of Calvin's Latin works. Amst. ed. (153) De-clar. p. 55. (certaminum) iste exitus, ut tandem perditus ille (cui etiam factiosorum unus tum prætoris assessor in aurem insusurasse quidam credebatur, quo malum perdita hominis animum obfirmaret, a vana illa sua confidentia proditus—infelix vivus crederetur." Let us hear Calvin; (153) "In my opinion he was in no danger of being punished with any severity, if he had shewn himself in the least tractable, or given the least hope of returning to the right way. But so far was he from taking the smallest moderate step, that being more and more filled with ostentation, and blown up with pride, he rejected with disdain, the best advices which were offered him, and might have been of very great use to him.—It is enough for me, that it is known, that I never prosecuted him with so much cruelty, but that it was always in his option to have purchased his life, in giving the smallest token of modesty; which he certainly would have done, if he had not lost his senses. It must not be said neither, that " he

per to consult the Protestant Swiss Cantons. They sent them the *Christianismi Restitutio*, with Calvin's papers, and the prisoner's

"he was steady in maintaining his opinions,
 "it was no such thing which governed him.
 "For at Vienne he made no scruple of
 "recanting, as often as they pleased, if he
 "could but get free. But I don't know what
 "notion to form of that obstinacy he always
 "shewed here, except that a furious rage
 "had taken possession of him, to run him
 "headlong into that judgment, to which
 "God had given him up. For, eight days
 "after, when I was called again by the Magistrates, and when, if he had pleased,
 "he had the liberty of talking with us,
 "the mischief might have been repaired.
 "But he excused himself on account of his
 "grief, and vexation; so that he would not
 "enter into conversation with us.—From
 "whence it may be probably conjectured,
 "that he had formed to himself some vain
 "expectation I don't know where, which
 "has ruined and destroyed him."

Mr. la Roche seems to believe, that the capital snare Servetus's false friends made him fall into, was to engage him to throw out a great deal of injurious language against Calvin. Although that would have been very imprudent, there is no probability that even this would have made a great impression either upon the Judges or Calvin himself. "This Billingsgate style," as Mr. de la Chapelle

soner's answers; and they required at the same time, the opinion of their Divines upon this affair. All the answers agreed in

in pelle very justly observes, "was then, and "for a long time afterwards, very much in "fashion amongst men of learning." In- vectives and injuries were common, which went for nothing in debates; it was the established, or Chancery style. Servetus's great misfortune was, that his pretended friends persuaded him, that his life was in no danger; in confidence of which, he defied justice and his Judges. We find proofs of this, in the manner he defended himself against his accusers. We have seen in note (F), that upon the subject of the passage about the fertility of Judæa, he did not condescend to alledge the proofs of his innocence with regard to this article, which he had to shew; on the contrary, he chused rather to place to his own account, the injurious reflections upon Moses, saying, "that there was nothing in it but "what was good." When he was reproached with indecent expressions he had used in speaking of the Trinity, which could not but be looked upon as blasphemous amongst Christians, he asked neither pardon nor excuse. What he had wrote he obstinately defended. I ought, upon this occasion to correct a small mistake of Mr. de la Chappelle, who says, (154) that the question (154) Bi. was upon the thirty seven articles extracted Rail. t. 2. from his books, about the letter which he P. 125, had 126.

in exhorting the magistrates to
restrain

had wrote to Mr. Abel Poupin or Pepin, full of the most shocking expressions against the Faith maintained at Geneva, and where he called the Trinity a Cerberus with three heads; the Journalist adds, that he made this answer. "I confess I have wrote so, and "when you shall teach me otherwise, I will "not only embrace it, but I will kiss the "ground whereon you walk." Mr. de la Chapelle is mistaken; the thirty seventh article extracted from his books regards the invectives he had thrown out against the Baptism of Infants, and the answer of Servetus refers to that, and not to the injurious expressions against the Trinity. I don't find that he had repeated them, or that he had directly defended them; on the contrary, it appears that he had eluded this article, contenting himself with offering no excuse; which sufficiently shews his obstinacy, and the little respect he had for his Judges. We have besides, a much stronger proof of this, in the article concerning his system, that God is the *whole*; so far from softening what he advanced, as we have seen in the remark (w), he seems to insult the whole universe. I don't think we can have any difficulty in believing Calvin, comparing his relation with the propositions of Servetus, (155) "In the "whole process," says Calvin, "his impiety "has been much better discovered.—For as "to what he said, that all creatures are of "the real Substance of the Deity, and like- "wise that all things are full of an infinite "God.

(155) De-
clar. p.
89, 90.

restrain Servetus, and to hinder his

“ God. Such language he is not ashamed
“ to utter, and even commit to writing.
“ I being excessively vexed at such a mon-
“ strous absurdity, replied against it; How,
“ wretched man! if any one should strike
“ this floor with his foot, and should say,
“ that he trampled upon God, would not
“ you be shocked in subjecting the Majesty of
“ God to such an affront? But he said, I
“ make no question, but that this form and
“ this table and every thing which can be
“ shewn, is the Substance of God. Again,
“ when it was objected to him, that then,
“ according to his own account, the Devil
“ would be substantially God. Smiling, he
“ answered boldly, Do you doubt of it?
“ For my part I stick to this as a general
“ maxim, that all things are a part and
“ portion of God, and that all nature is
“ his substantial Spirit.” Except one is
“ violently prejudiced, he must confess that
“ a man in the circumstances in which Ser-
“ vetus was, and behaved in this manner,
“ must have secret hopes that it would do
“ him no harm. And thus it follows from
“ all that we have said, that Calvin’s ene-
“ mies contributed more to the misfortunate
“ end of Servetus, than this reformer; and that
“ a little of that submission he practised at
“ Vienne, would have saved him; but as
“ they had rendered Servetus headstrong and
“ insolent, Calvin was laid under the neces-
“ sity either of ruining himself, or of op-
“ posing

his errors from spreading. (Y)

The posing every thing which could be favourable to Servetus.

(Y) *To restrain Servetus, and binder his errors from spreading.*] There are none of these answers, which point out that kind of punishment the criminal deserved, but we may clearly see that the Swiss Magistrates did not think that Servetus ought to escape; the reader shall be judge of this. The Magistrates of Zurich answered the 2d of October, that they had consulted their Ministers, and they exhorted the Council of Geneva to oppose the heresies of Servetus. "In confi-

(156) Bi.

Angl. t. 2.

p. 163.

Mr. la

Roche

assures

us, this

passage

has never

been

printed.

(157) In-

ter epist.

Calvin.

p. m. 73.

"dence," say they (156) "that you won't

"suffer the wicked intention of your said

"prisoner to go further, which is entirely

"contrary to the Christian religion, which

"gives great scandal and insult." The Mi-

nisters of Zurich express themselves more

strongly in their letter of the same date (157).

"Multa ergo fide et diligentia contra hunc

"opus esse judicamus, præsertim cum eccle-

"siæ nostræ apud exteros male audiant, quasi

"hæreticæ sint et hæreticis foveant. Obtulit

"vero in presenti Sancta Dei providentia oc-

"casionem repurgandi vos, simul ac nos a

"pravi mali hujus suspicione: si videlicet

"vigilantes fueritis, diligenterque caveritis

"ne veneni hujus contagio, per hunc serpat

"latius. Id quod facturos A. V. nil dubi-

"tamus." The Magistrates of Schaffhouse

answered by a letter of the 6th of October,

that they had remitted the examination of this

affair to their Ministers, and that they had

sent

The 26th of October, and not the 28th, as Mr. la Roche has it, after

sent these gentlemen's letter to the Council of Geneva. These last, after saying that they detested the errors of Servetus, conclude with these words (158), "Neque dubitamus (158) ib. quam vos, pro insigni prudentia vestra, P. m. 74. ipsius conatus repressuri sitis, ne blasphemiae ipsius tanquam cancer latius depascantur Christi membra. Nam longis rationibus avertere ipsius deliramenta; quid aliud esset quam cum insaniente insaniri?" These gentlemen hoped that those of Geneva would repress the errors of Servetus, and they judged it would be in vain to refute them by long reasonings; is not this language very plain? The Magistrates of Basil mention in their letter of the 12th of October, their having referred the examination of this affair to their Divines; these last in their letter of the 18th of October (159), express (159) ib. in the beginning, the horror they have at P. m. 72. the heresies of Servetus, and end by saying, Mr. la Roche "Postremo, quod Servetum attinet hortamur, says, that "ut quod facere vos apparet, omne studium this letter "in ipso sanando albi beatis, modo quæ is the "excitavit offendicula, et ipsa sanari queant. 12th of Oct. in "Verum si insanabilis in concepta semet per-my edit. "veritate persistet, sic pro officio vestro, it is the "potestateque a Domino concessa coerceatur, 18th. "ne dare incommodum queat ecclesiae Christi, "neve fiant novissima primis deteriora." They mean that in case Servetus persists in his obstinacy and is incurable, then the Council of Geneva, according to their duty and exercising

after Mr. d'Artigny; the sentence against Servetus was pronounced, by

cising the power which God had put into their hands, should restrain this heretick in such a manner, that he should not hurt the Church of Jesus Christ any more. Here is no ambiguity. The Magistrates of Bern wrote likewise, that they had consulted their Divines, and entreated the Magistrates of Geneva to put a stop to the further progress of these

(160) Bi. errors. "We beg of you," say they, (160) Angl. ub. "not doubting but you are thereto also inclined, that you will take proper measures, 166, 167. "that sects and heresies as these are, or such Mr. la Roche "like, be not sown in the Church of Jesus assures us, "Christ, our only Saviour; preserving it that this "thereby from trouble and adversity, advancing passage "vancing and increasing its glory." The has never been printed. Ministers of Bern expressed themselves in these terms. "Oramus Deum, ut det vobis

"spiritum prudentiæ, consilii et fortitudinis, "ut et pestem hanc ab ecclesiis cum vestra, "tum aliis, avertatis, et simul nihil remittatis, quod Magistratui Christiano inconveniens sit (161)." This letter is dated in (161) the year 1553. In weighing without prejudice all the answers of these churches, we must agree to the truth of what Beza says, that Servetus had been condemned with the consent of all the Churches in Switzerland, "ex omnium etiam Helveticarum ecclesiarum "sententia." Mr. la Roche seems to make this doubtful; and Mr. d'Alwoerden pretends that Calvin had the art to let none of the letters be printed but that of Zurich, because

it

by which he was condemned to be burnt alive. (Z) After the sentence was pronounced upon this unfortunate Spaniard, he appeared sometimes quite confounded and motionless, sometimes fetching deep sighs, and then crying after the Spanish manner,

it answered his view much better, which was to maintain, that Servetus was justly put to death. But, upon reading the answers of these Swiss gentlemen, we shall own that Mr. de la Chapelle had reason to say, that (162) (162) *Bibl. Raïson. t. 2. p. 173.*
 “ All the churches of Switzerland agreed to punish Servetus capitally, since they all concurred in testifying their utmost abhorrence of his heresies; and requiring, that this outrage should not be left unpunished.” We shall see afterwards, that the practice of the Swiss sufficiently explains what they understand by restraining heresies.

(Z) *Sentence against Servetus was pronounced, by which he was condemned to be burnt alive.* Mr. la Roche has given us this sentence and the trial-preceding. As these two pieces throw a great deal of light upon this affair, we shall insert them, to spare the reader the trouble of having recourse to another book. There we see for what crimes Servetus was condemned, and in what form judgment was decreed against him.

manner, *Misericorde ! Misericorde !*

(x) Calv.
opusc. p.
m. 523.

(x) Two hours before his death, he desired to speak with Calvin : this divine accompanied with two magistrates, went to prison ; Calvin said to him, that it never entered into his mind to revenge any personal injuries done him ; that

“ P R O C E S S

“ Made and formed before our most
“ respectful Lords, the Syndics Judges
“ of criminal causes of this city, at the
“ pursuit and instance of the Lord Lieu-
“ tenant of the said city, and the said
“ causes indited against

“ MICHAEL SERVETUS, of Villa-
“ neuve in the kingdom of
“ Arragon in Spain,

“ Who about three and twenty, or four
“ and twenty years ago, has in the first place
“ attempted to have, and caused to be printed
“ in Agnon * in Germany, a book against
“ the Holy and undivided Trinity ; con-
“ taining many gross blasphemies against it,
“ highly scandalous to the churches of the
“ said Germans, which he without constraint,
“ confessed, that he caused the said book to
“ be printed, notwithstanding all the remon-
“ strances and reproofs given him for these
“ false opinions, by the learned Evangelical
“ Doctors amongst the said Germans.

“ Item,

* Hage-
nau.

that more than sixteen years ago, he had endeavoured to reclaim him from his errors; and that in this view he had written to him with a great deal of tenderness; that he had not ceased to give him proofs of his affection until he saw that he fell

a

“ Item. Which book has been rejected
“ by the Doctors of the said German
“ churches, as full of heresies, and the said
“ Servetus declared fugitive by the said Ger-
“ mans on account of the said book.

“ Item. Notwithstanding of which, the
“ said Servetus has persevered in his errone-
“ ous falsehoods, infecting here as many as
“ he could.

“ Item. Not content with this, but the
“ better to spread and pour out his said
“ venom and heresy, he has caused lately
“ to be printed, another book privately, in
“ Vienne in Dauphine, full of the said here-
“ sies; horrible and execrable blasphemies
“ against the Holy Trinity, against the Son
“ of God, against the baptism of little chil-
“ dren, and a great many other holy and
“ fundamental articles of the Christian reli-
“ gion.

“ Item. He has voluntarily confessed,
“ that in this book he has called those who
“ believe the Trinity, Trinitarians and
“ Atheists.

N 4

“ Item,

a railing against him, because he had reprimanded him with some freedom. He exhorted Servetus to ask pardon of God, for his having endeavoured to destroy the three hypostases of his essence, and had called it a Cerberus with three heads, if there

“ Item. He calls the Trinity itself a
“ C——s, and a th—h—d monster.

“ Item. Against the real foundation of
“ the Christian religion, detestably blasphem-
“ ing against the Son of God; he has said
“ that Jesus Christ is not the Son of God
“ from all eternity, but only from his incar-
“ nation.

“ Item. And against that which the Scrip-
“ ture says, that Jesus Christ is the Son of
“ David according to the Flesh, he misfor-
“ tunately denies it, saying, that he was
“ created of the Substance of the Father,
“ having received three elements from him,
“ and one only from the Virgin; in which
“ he wickedly pretends to abolish the true
“ and entire humanity of our Lord Jesus
“ Christ, the sovereign consolation of poor
“ mankind.

“ Item. And that the baptism of little
“ children is nothing but an invention of the
“ Devil and witchcraft.

“ Item. And a great many other points
“ and articles, and execrable blasphemies,

“ of

there was a real distinction between the Father, the Son, and Holy Spirit, &c. These exhortations were useless: Calvin retired. (z) Chateillon has given (z) *ibid.* out, that Calvin was in a window P. 511. when Servetus was led to punishment, and that he smiled when

“ of which the said book is full; highly
 “ scandalous against the honour and majesty of
 “ God, the Son of God, and the Holy
 “ Spirit; which is a cruel and horrible
 “ murder, perdition and ruin to a great
 “ many poor souls, being betrayed by this
 “ treacherous and detestable doctrine: A
 “ thing dreadful to rehearse.

“ Item. And that Servetus, full of malice, intituled his said book so drawn up against God and the holy Evangelical Doctrines, *Christianismi Restitutio*; that is to say, *The Restoration of Christianity*, so much the better to seduce and deceive poor ignorant people; and the more easily to infect the readers of his said book with his mischievous and wicked venom, under the cover of sound doctrine.

“ Item. And besides the aforesaid book, attacking our faith by letters, applying himself diligently to infect others with his poison; he has voluntarily confessed and owned that he had written letters to one of the Ministers of this city, in which
 “ amongst

when he saw him pass by; but these are of the kind of odious reproaches, which ought not to be credited but upon very good proofs, and not upon the testimony of a declared enemy. Mr. la Roche looks upon this fact as a wretched calumny. (aa) “Per-

(aa) Bibl.
Angl. t. 2.
p. 188.

“ haps,”

“ amongst a great many other horrible and
“ enormous blasphemies, against our holy
“ Evangelical religion, he said, that our
“ gospel was without faith, and without God,
“ and that for one God we had a C—s
“ with th—e h—ds.

“ Item. And besides, he has voluntarily
“ confessed, that at the aforesaid place of
“ Vienne, upon account of his wicked and
“ abominable book and opinions, he was
“ imprisoned, which prison he perfidiously
“ broke and escaped.

“ Item. And Servetus has not only set
“ his doctrine in opposition to the true Chris-
“ tian Religion, but an impudent inventor
“ of heresies against the Papists and others;
“ so that he was burnt in effigy at Vienne,
“ and five bales of his said books.

“ Item. And notwithstanding all this,
“ being here in prison, and detained in this
“ city, he has not left off from persisting
“ maliciously in his said wicked and detest-
“ able errors; endeavouring to defend them
“ with reproaches and calumnies against true
“ Christians,

“ haps,” says Mr. d’Artigny,
 “ he wanted to bring off Cal-
 “ vin as to this particular ; (bb) (bb) Nov,
 “ for every where else he draws Mem. t. 2,
 “ a picture of him which does p. 152.
 “ by no means flatter him.” But
 from what other motive but that
 of truth, would Mr. la Roche
 have

“ Christians, and faithful maintainers of the
 “ true, spotless Christian Religion ; calling
 “ them Trinitarians, Atheists, and forcerers ;
 “ notwithstanding the remonstrances made
 “ him for a long time in Germany, as is
 “ already said, condemning the reprimands,
 “ imprisonments, and corrections that he
 “ has undergone both here and elsewhere,
 “ as is more fully, and at greater length,
 “ contained in his process.”

SENTENCE.

“ We the Syndics, Judges of criminal
 “ causes in this city, having seen the process
 “ drawn up and formed before us, at the
 “ instance of our Lieutenant of the said
 “ causes present, against Michael Servetus, of
 “ Villeneuve in the kingdom of Arragon in
 “ Spain. By which, and your voluntary
 “ confessions in our hands, a great many
 “ times repeated, and the books produced
 “ before us ; it is evident and plain to us,
 “ that you Servetus have for a long time
 “ published

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have spared Calvin on this article, more than upon others. Farel accompanied Servetus to his execution, and he had a great deal of trouble to make him say, that he wished the people would pray to God for him. Thus it was, that the unfortunate Servetus expired

“ a doctrine false and altogether heretical;
 “ and the same [not to mention all other
 “ remonstrances and corrections,] with a
 “ malicious and perverse obstinacy, continually sown and divulged, even to the
 “ printing of books openly, against God the
 “ Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit, and
 “ in one word, against the true foundations
 “ of the Christian Religion; endeavouring
 “ thereby to raise schism in the Church of
 “ God, whereby many souls may be ruined
 “ and lost; a thing horrible and frightful,
 “ scandalous and infectious, having no shame
 “ or horror; to set up yourself altogether
 “ against the Divine Majesty and the Holy
 “ Trinity, thus labouring with all your
 “ might, and with obstinacy employing yourself to infect the world with your heresies, and nauseous heretical poison; the
 “ act and the crime of heresy being grievous
 “ and detestable, and deserving a severe corporal punishment. For these, and other
 “ just causes moving us thereto, desiring to
 “ purge the Church of God from such an
 “ infection,

pired in the midst of the flames, the 27th of October, 1553, without speaking, or giving any sign of repentance. Chateillon in his dialogues *inter Vaticanum et Calvinum*, relates several circumstances about the death of Servetus, which appear to Mr. la Roche

“ infection, and cut off from it such a corrupted member; having taken deliberate consultation with our fellow-citizens, and having invoked the name of God, that we might give a righteous judgment: Sitting upon the tribunal of our ancestors, having God and his holy Scriptures before our eyes: In the Name of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit, by this our definitive and written sentence; we condemn you Michael Servetus, to be bound, and to be led to the place of Champel, and there to be fastened to a stake, and there to be burnt alive; together with your book you have written with your own hand, or printed; ay, and until your body be reduced to ashes; and thus shall you end your days by giving warning to others, who may commit the like in time coming. And we charge you our Lieutenant, to see the present sentence put in execution.”

There is one singularity in this sentence which deserves to be noticed, which is, that the Judges of Geneva count it a crime in Servetus

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la Roche either fabulous or uncertain. They have no other tendency but to make Calvin odious, as if it had been this reformer who had directed the execution; but such is the characteristick of passion, that it betrays itself by these very arms
it

vetus for having attacked, or set up himself as a bold introducer of heresies against the Popish religion; if this was a crime, don't these gentlemen condemn themselves? What no doubt hindered them to perceive this, was that they supposed that a heretick had not the same privileges as an orthodox person, and therefore, Servetus was not authorised to do what Calvin, and they themselves did every day. This sentence gives occasion to make another observation, which is, that the ancient penal laws against hereticks, were extant, and in force at Geneva; this is that which proves the nature of these crimes upon which the criminal was condemned. The question here, was only about errors and heresies: but how could they rank them with crimes, and capital crimes too, if it was not in consequence of laws which had declared them to be so? This is confirmed by the quality of the Judges who gave themselves the title of Judges of criminal causes; that of Servetus was of this nature, and it could only be so in consequence of these laws. Mr.
d'Alwo-

it uses for its own gratification.

The execution of Servetus, has furnished materials for many declamations against Calvin: they have painted his conduct in the blackest colours: I am very far from approving his, and the Magistrates of Geneva's (intolerance)

want

d'Alwoerden has observed the same thing.

"Ex legibus civitatis condemnatum esse Ser-

vetum, Jo. Urigandus noster scribit. Nec

id prorsus male. Nam, quod ex tota car-

ceris ejus historia constat, nondum erat tum

temporis lex Genevæ de hæreticis puniendis

et comburendis abrogata: alioquin ne actio

quidem in Servetum institui potuisset;"

which explains the harsh manner with which

this physician was used, as Mr. de la Chapelle

has very well observed (163). "They (163) ib.

"began," says he, "by depriving him of p. 164,

"every means whereby he might procure to 165.

"himself the smallest comfort in prison; they

"laid hold of ninety seven pieces of gold, a

"chain of twenty crowns, and six gold rings,

"which he was so effectually robbed of,

"that he never heard any more of them;

"afterwards they put him into a damp dun-

"geon, where he was eaten up with vermin;

"this resembles the Spanish inquisition not a

"little. It is true, that the prisoner obtained

"confronting of parties, the use of papers

"in his process, ink, pen, paper, books,

"and

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want of toleration, and at the same time, I shall not dissemble; there are a great many things to be said, not to justify non-toleration. But, to discharge Calvin from the blame thrown upon him, I. It is evident that the reformer had kept the principles he had imbibed

“ and the liberty of giving what explanations
 “ he thought necessary, by word of mouth,
 “ or writing; which is not allowed at the
 “ tribunals of the holy catholick office. But
 “ the orders of the Magistrates, if there were
 “ any such orders, to put him in a cleaner
 “ place, were never executed; he was not
 “ suffered to have an advocate to direct him,
 “ or to plead his cause, which perfectly well
 “ agrees with the ecclesiastical proceedings of
 “ the episcopal courts in cases of heresy.
 “ On the whole, we see some small alterations which the light of the reformation
 “ began to make.——It was however at
 “ bottom, the same spirit which reigned,
 “ and the same sanguinary law which was
 “ followed; this was carried on to the end;
 “ for when the question was to fix the nature
 “ of the punishment, they determined that
 “ which antient custom had established. In
 “ vain did some persons more moderate, propose banishment, or, at least, a death less
 “ cruel than the flames; Calvin was amongst
 “ these last, but in vain; I say, did they
 “ make

imbibed in the Church of Rome,
concerning the punishment of
hereticks; (AA) and that he was
persuaded

“ make any such overtures, the majority of
“ votes amongst the Judges, stuck to the
“ antient custom, and Servetus, declared a
“ heretick, was to be burnt alive; that
“ which certainly could not have been deter-
“ mined in this manner, but in consequence
“ of the laws and customs of the city. It
“ is purely, therefore, to these laws and
“ those customs, and not to Calvin’s rage,
“ that we are to ascribe the severities Ser-
“ vetus underwent in prison, and the inhu-
“ manity of the punishment to which he was
“ condemned.”

(AA) *Imbibed in the church of Rome, con-
cerning the punishment of hereticks.*] We shall
not suspect Calvin of having acted out of
personal hatred, if we maturely reflect upon
what we have said in rem. M. observ. ii. and
in rem. X. particularly the citation (153).
This Divine acted from his zeal for ortho-
doxy, and thought in good earnest, that the
Magistrate had a right, and was under obli-
gation to punish hereticks with death. To
pretend that he embraced this opinion, and
that he undertook to defend it after the death
of Servetus, to cover what was odious in this
action, is to suppose a thing of which there
is no manner of proof; while there is all the
reason in the world to believe, that his opinion
about the punishment of hereticks was always
the same, since it does not appear, that in
O labouring

persuaded in good earnest, that they were to be extirpated by the sword.

labouring to reform Geneva, he ever thought in the least of abolishing the penal laws against hereticks, that which he ought naturally to have done, if he had entertained the principles of toleration: but on this article he had kept to the prejudices of his infancy, and education and prudential reasons had given them a new weight. Calvin was born a Roman Catholick, and he had kept by the principles of persecution of that church from whence he came. Heresy was looked upon as a crime deserving the severest punishment. "An heretick was then," as

(164) ib.
p. 153.
154.

Mr. de la Chapelle very well says, (164)
"a monster of horror, a child of the
"Devil, an emissary of hell, an enemy of
"God and man; this is the notion the
"common people amongst the papists have
"of him to this day. In this way parents
"talk to their children, masters to their
"scholars, and priests to their parishioners.
"Judge then, how they would talk of an here-
"tick, when hereticks were almost as rare in
"Europe, as the Phœnix in Egypt. Did they
"study the canon law? Did they study the
"civil law or divinity? This last was still
"worse; hereticks were excommunicated
"persons, poisoners of mankind, publick
"pests, guilty of high treason, human and
"divine, in the most capital instance: in
"universities, in Parliaments, at the courts
"of Princes, as well as of the Popes; these
"defini-

sword. II. This opinion, so far from being peculiar to Calvin, was

“ definitions were geometrical maxims, and
“ these principles self-evident. The reformation which happened, did not shake an
“ opinion so universally established; it was
“ not thought to be an innovation of the
“ Roman See; but that it was always an
“ essential part of christian zeal. We find
“ it in the most celebrated, and most valuable laws of the Emperors; and we see
“ that the Fathers of the church almost all
“ agreed, to represent heresy as the most
“ detestable of all crimes; there were not
“ wanting passages of Scripture where they
“ imagined the same notions were to be
“ found, and it is easy to observe, that the
“ first œconomical councils, which were
“ highly respected by all the world, unmercifully let fly their most furious anathemas
“ against every thing they called heresy;
“ a prejudice supported by such specious
“ reasons, naturally passed for an article of
“ the Christian faith amongst the learned,
“ and amongst the people, who had shaken
“ off the Roman yoke; and how many
“ protestants do we find at this day, who are
“ fond of the same opinion? At the beginning, policy contributed as much to it as
“ zeal. They would have ruined themselves
“ in the opinion of the people, and in the
“ courts of Kings, if they had shewn the
“ least favour to heresy, or to any one who
“ owned himself an heretick; the reformers

was the reigning opinion of the most celebrated and the most moderate

“ and the reformed saw the necessity they
 “ were under, of vindicating themselves from
 “ this crime, and to speak of it with the same
 “ detestation as others: Hence their confes-
 “ sions of faith in order to prove their
 “ orthodoxy; hence their tragical exclama-
 “ tions against the rigorous treatment they
 “ met with; hence these rigid precautions,
 “ to preserve amongst them the purity of
 “ the faith! Hence in fine the contradiction
 “ into which they fell, of persecuting he-
 “ reticks in the same manner they themselves
 “ were persecuted.”

It is really one of the most glaring contradictions, to complain of being persecuted on account of religion, and pretend to have a right to persecute others. To say that it is the privilege of orthodoxy to suppress heresy, and to burn hereticks, is to make the world a theatre of murder. Every mortal pretends to be orthodox, and if it is agreed on both sides, that hereticks ought to be burnt, every where the strongest who pretend to be orthodox, will kindle the pile to destroy those who think otherways than they; and thus, according to the country, the established religion will eradicate every thing which won't acknowledge it: this would appear so plain, that it requires but a small share of good sense to be convinced of it; but as there are people at this day who don't perceive it, need we be surprised that

rate Divines : it was the opinion of all the Protestant churches, and every where hereticks were used with severity (BB). III. This which

that Calvin, educated with such strong prejudices on this subject, did not apprehend it, and that he in good earnest, fell headlong into persecution. Calvin and others may be reproached with this contradiction, and advantage may be taken from it, to justify the persecuting of protestants ; but I can't conceive why some writers of the church of Rome are so much enraged against Calvin on this account, since they ought to see that it is only following their own principles, or, is it only by chance, that what was at Vienne in Dauphinee, and in the persons of Cardinal Tournon, and the Inquisitor, Matthew Ory, and others, the effect and proof of a most commendable zeal for maintaining the truth, was at Geneva the effect and the proof of a false zeal? Because it was Calvin who defended the truth, let us speak out ; both parties acted from the same motives, and were equally in an error with regard to the means of extirpating hereticks. I shall not here discuss what relates to the subject of toleration, because this article is almost already beyond its proper length.

(BB) *And every where hereticks were used with severity.*] I have in the beginning of this article related the words which Calvin in his letter to Sulzer ascribes to Bucer ; to call his

which above all things, proves that

testimony in question on this subject, would be to tax him with a falsehood without any proof; and would likewise be of very little service to the question in hand, since there were plenty of other Divines who thought in the same way as Calvin did; see what Bulinger wrote to Calvin six weeks before Servetus's death (165). "Obtulit quidem

(165)

Inter ep.

Calv.

this letter

is Sep. 14.

"Dominus materiam per occasionem accom-
modatissimam amplissimo senatui Genevensi
se, et ecclesiam expurgandi a labe seu
foeditate hæresios, dum Servetum illum
Hispanum in manus ejus dedit.—Si ergo
huic rependerit amplissimus senatus, quod
blasphemo nebuloni debetur, totus orbis
cemeret Genevensis blasphemus odisse hære-
ticos, qui vero sunt pertinaces hæretici,
gladio justitiæ persequi et gloriam Majes-
tatis divina vindicare." The same Divine

three years after the punishing of Servetus,
writing to the Divines in Poland, approves
the treatment this blasphemer had met with,
in terms very express, in these words, where
he declares the opinion of all the Divines in

(166) Ep. Switzerland (166). "Quotquot in hisce
ad eccl. "ecclesiis Christum et veram religionem an-
Hel. Ref. "nunciamus, blasphemum hominem et incu-
vel ad eos "rabilem, qui omnem institutionem risit et
script. "sugillavit, non inique capitis supplicio
cent. 1. p. "371, 372. "affectum esse existimamus." Peter Martyr

(167) P. was likewise of opinion, that it was the
Mart. loc. duty of Magistrates and Princes to punish
com. el. hereticks (167). "Nam is autoritate ac
4. c. 13. "potestate sua, ita debet servire Domino,
531. ut

that we must ascribe the misfortunate

“ ut puniat eos qui adversantur. Quod nisi
 “ faciat, videtur assentiri blasphemis et hære-
 “ tics; rex enim cum istos videt, et patitur,
 “ perinde facit, ac si illis adjungeret, et
 “ eorum flagitiis faveret.” Melancthon him-
 self the most moderate and mildest of all the
 reformers, approves what had been done at
 Geneva. “ Affirmo etiam,” says he, “ vestros
 “ Magistratus juste fecisse, quod hominem
 “ blasphemum re ordine judicata interfece-
 “ runt.” (168) I cannot conceive how this (168)
 approbation can be esteemed ambiguous, for ^{Inter ep.}
 it is a certainty, that the affair of Servetus ^{Calv. the}
 was not the only case where Melancthon ^{letter is}
 declared his desire to cause hereticks to be ^{Oct. 12.}
 punished. Mr. de la Chapelle cites another
 instance little known, (169) taken from the ^{(169) Bi,}
 history of David George. (170) The histo- ^{Rail. t. 2.}
 rian talks of a certain person who translated ^{p. 171,}
 David George’s book “ about wonderful ^{172.}
 “ things,” into Latin. The translator, who ⁽¹⁷⁰⁾
 had been formerly a disciple of Melancthon, ^{Hist. D.}
 flattered himself that he would gain him; he ^{George}
 went to Wittenberg with this view, and in ^{168. & seq.}
 conversation with Melancthon, he appeared ^{apud eum}
 to deny the existence of the Devil; Me-
 lancthon, shocked at this extravagance,
 threatened to delate the man to the Ma-
 gistrates, to have him put in prison; and
 this misfortunate fellow having every thing to
 fear from a man who had the highest credit
 in the city, went off privately as quickly as
 he could. “ In hoc dum esset opere, tanta
 “ fuit admiratione obtupefactus, ut ingentem

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fortunate end of Servetus, not so much

“ spem ceperit, se Philippum Melanchtonem,
 “ olim suum præceptorem, facillime in Da-
 “ vidica sectæ societatem pertracturum, et per
 “ eum deinde totam Germaniam. Hac spe
 “ fretus instituit iter ad Wittembergam,
 “ comitanti Ministro fideli et secum ferente
 “ librum mirabilium excusum, simul cum
 “ triginta capitibus versis—cum autem Wit-
 “ temburgam ingressus, Melanchtonem post
 “ lectionem auditam, salutasset, coepit ex
 “ illo quærere, an nihil audivisset de magna
 “ —luce— patefacta; respondit Melanchton
 “ se non sine magno cordis dolore, intellex-
 “ isse in toto illo terræ tractu præter idola-
 “ latriam et tyrannidem papanam, omne
 “ genus portentosarum sectarum vagari,
 “ inter quas aliqua doceant diabolum nil
 “ aliud esse nisi inane nomen; interpret ait,
 “ se libenter fateri, diabolum esse spiritum ad
 “ malum impellentem efficacem in incredulis;
 “ et Melanchton inde certo concludebat,
 “ spiritum, si simpliciter per se agat, oportere
 “ etiam subsistere; cumque interpret quædam
 “ absurda adderet postea, dixit tandem Me-
 “ lanchton, ejus doctrinam esse fanaticam, et
 “ si constaret eum Wittembergam venisse, ut
 “ ibi suas furias seminaret, se effecturum apud
 “ Magistratum, ut statim in vincula conjice-
 “ retur—absoluto colloquio, interpret recta
 “ ad diversorium contendit, atque cauponi
 “ solvit, dimisso prius famulo cum libro mira-
 “ bilium.”

Socinus himself is accused for having be-
 lieved that those who differed from his way
 of

much to him, as to prejudices,
and

of thinking, might be restrained by force. There is the fact taken from his life by Przypcovius, as I find it related in one of our Journals (171). "Francis David causing (171) Bl. some disorder in Transilvania, where a Brit. party was formed against the adoration of 4. P. 66. Jesus Christ; Socinus was ordered from Basil in 1578, in order to dismiss the ring-leader of an error so shameful and so pernicious. When Socinus arrived, he took an apartment in the same house where David lodged; but that which facilitated their conversation, did not reclaim the heretick, who was very active to get the ascendant. The Prince of Transilvania caused him to be put in prison, where he died soon after; so that all the world looked upon his death as a martyrdom. *Obitus ejus martyrio similis, statim omnium in se oculos converterit.*" Socinus's historian does not incline we should believe, that the head of the party had any hand in his death; but it is very well observed, after all, "that the Prince was a Socinian, and Blandrata likewise, who managed this affair. They had caused their great Doctor to come from the heart of Switzerland, and without his consent, or in spite of him, could they have got quit of a rival, who took it into his head to push Socinianism as far as in consequence of these principles, it could go. This was too much; they thought they were obliged to pique themselves upon their orthodoxy with regard

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and the established laws; and
for

“ regard to this opposition by Francis David;
“ and as in these times force was every
“ where employed for suppressing of heresy;
“ the Socinians themselves, when they were
“ masters, were by no means of opinion
“ that there should be a liberty of dogma-
“ tizing: If they did not deliver the here-
“ tick openly to the secular arm, this arm
“ made its weight be very sensibly felt when
“ the Prince favoured them.”

Servetus himself testifies in his request of the 22d of August, that he believed, that hereticks deserved banishment, which shews that it was then a general opinion, that hereticks ought to be punished one way or another. It was likewise the opinion of almost all the protestant churches, as appears by their confessions of faith; whereof Mr. de la Chapelle has given an abridgment upon this article, (172) to which I refer, that I may not be too tedious; and these who have the *Syntagma Confessionum Fidei*, may satisfy themselves, that there is nothing advanced upon that subject but what is true. And the universal practice in this matter won't suffer us to doubt of it. Would we know what has been done in Switzerland? In the year 1526 they caused an Anabaptist at Zurich to be drowned; in the year 1558 they burned the body of David George at Basil. There is a very curious passage upon this event, by John Crispin, in his state of the church under the year 1558; (173) “ The first of May, the Ministers, Rector, Professors, and

(172)

Bibl.

Rison.

lo. cit. p.

16, 168.

(173) ap.

ecl. p.

159, 160.

for this reason, since his time
we

“ and Schoolmasters of Basil, having una-
 “ nimously condemned the points of David
 “ George’s doctrine, the Senate after full
 “ information of the whole, proceeded the
 “ 13th of May, to finish David George’s
 “ process, viz. That all his writings, as full
 “ of impiety and deadly poison, likewise his
 “ body or his bones, and whatever else
 “ remains of his burying place, shall be
 “ burnt, with his effigy, which was found
 “ in his house, representing him to the life;
 “ and that in general, all the effects of such
 “ a wicked man, wherever they are found,
 “ shall be confiscated, and adjudged to the
 “ regality. This sentence was proclaimed
 “ according to the custom of the place, and
 “ the whole form of the laws and ordinance
 “ of the city, was observed in the execution
 “ of it.” This law and these ordinances as
 to an affair of this kind, were no doubt,
 the antient statutes and penal laws against
 heresy. The same year they caused Valentine
 Gentilis to make an “ amende honourable,”
 at Geneva, exactly according to the form
 observed in the church of Rome, and the
 sentence bears, that the Judges pronounced
 it according to ancient custom; (174) the (174) Cal.
 same Valentine Gentilis having been arrested ^{opusc. p.}
 upon the territories of the canton of Bern, ^{m. 578.}
 in 1566; was condemned at Bern because of
 his opinions, to lose his head (175). In (175)
 England they were not less zealous, and all ^{Bayle}
 by virtue of the ancient law; let us confine ^{Art. Gen-}
 ourselves ^{tilis. (Jean}
 Valent.)

we find several examples of hereticks

ourselves to one fact, furnished by Mr. Burnet (176).

(176)
Hist. of
Ref. t. 2.
p. 110.
an. 1549.

“ At this time there were many Anabaptists in several parts of England—diffeminating their errors, and making proselytes; so a commission was ordered for the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishops of Ely, &c.—and some others, three of them being a quorum, to examine and search after all anabaptists, hereticks, or contemnners of the *Common Prayer*; they were to endeavour to reclaim them, to enjoin them penance, and give them absolution, or, if they were obstinate, to excommunicate and imprison them, and to deliver them over to the secular power, to be further proceeded against.—One of these who thus abjured, was commanded to carry a faggot next Sunday at St. Paul’s, where there should be a sermon setting forth his heresy. But there was another of these, extream obstinate, Joan Bocher, commonly called Joan of Kent; she denied that Christ was truly incarnate of the Virgin, whose flesh being sinful, he could take none of it; but the Word by the consent of the inward Man in the Virgin, took flesh of her. These were her words. They took much pains about her, and had many conferences with her; but she was so extravagantly conceited of her own notions, that she rejected all they said with scorn; whereupon she was adjudged an obstinate heretick, and so left to the secular power.
“ The

reticks being punished in different

“ The sentence against her will be found in
“ the collection, No. 35. This being re-
“ turned to the Council, the good King was
“ moved to sign a warrant for burning her;
“ but could not be prevailed on to do it: He
“ thought it a piece of cruelty, too like that
“ which they condemned in Papists, to burn
“ any for their consciences; and in a long
“ discourse he had with Sir John Check, he
“ seemed much confirmed in that opinion:
“ Cranmer was employed to persuade him to
“ sign the warrant——the reasons of the
“ Archbishop did rather silence, than satisfy
“ the young King, who still thought it a
“ hard thing (as in truth it was,) to proceed
“ so severely in such cases; so he set his
“ hand to the warrant with tears in his eyes,
“ saying to Cranmer, That if he did wrong,
“ since it was in submission to his authority,
“ he should answer for it to God. This
“ struck the Archbishop with much horror,
“ so that he was very unwilling to have the
“ sentence executed.——But she continued
“ by jeers and other insolencies, to carry
“ herself so contemptuously, that at last the
“ sentence was executed upon her the 2d of
“ May. Bishop Scorry preached at her burn-
“ ing; she carried herself then, as she had
“ done in the former part of her process,
“ very indecently, and in the end was burnt.
“ This action was much censured, as being
“ contrary to the clemency of the Gospel,
“ and was made use of by the papists, who
“ said, it was plain, that the reformers were
“ only

LIFE OF SERVETUS

ferent countries (CC). Let per-
secution

“only against burning; when they were
“in fear of it themselves. The woman’s
“carriage made her be looked on as a
“frantick person, fitter for bedlam than a
“stake.” People had generally believed, that
all the statutes for burning hereticks had
been repealed; but now, when the thing was
better considered, it was found, that the
burning of hereticks was done by the common
law; so that the statutes made about it, were
only for making the conviction more easy,
and the repealing of the statutes did not take
away that which was grounded on a writ at
common law.

I shall enlarge no further, as it appears to
me, we can by no means call in question the
truth of what I have advanced. That this
prejudice was general, and that those who
complained of severity when they suffered,
made no scruple of exercising it upon others.
Must we go so far back as to the sixteenth
century, to find examples of the same ab-
surdity? So true it is, that men with the
greatest sincerity in the world, are in contra-
diction with themselves.

(CC) *Several examples of hereticks being
punished in different countries.* More than
sixty years after Calvin’s death, we find the
same judgment taking place at Geneva. In
1632, Nicolas Antony was condemned to be
strangled and afterwards burnt, “because,
“forgetting all fear of God, he had com-
“mitted the crime of apostacy, and of high
“treason against God, in the most capital
“instance;

secution be blamed, and the execution of Servetus disapproved, I subscribe to the whole; but let us not make it a crime in Calvin, for having been under the same prejudices as all others in the age he lived in were. Before I conclude, I ought not to omit saying,

“instance; having opposed the Holy Trinity,
 “denied our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ,
 “blasphemed his holy Name, renounced
 “his baptism, to embrace Judaism and cir-
 “cumcision; had perjured himself, for which
 “crimes, &c.” But, that we may not think that the clergy were the cause of this execution, we ought to know that these of Geneva endeavoured to engage the Magistracy to suspend the execution of the sentence.

(177) Here is then an execution at Geneva (177) Ar-
 on account of religion, a long time after ticle Ant.
 Calvin; and appears an evident proof, that (Nicolas.)
 the same laws and the same principles, had the ascendant even then; there is another example of the same kind, more recent but less known. It is indeed a case of witchcraft, but we know that a crime of this nature was punished by virtue of the same laws as that of heresy; from whence it will always follow, that at Geneva every thing which attacked religion, was very roughly handled. We shall see what this matter was, by a letter from Mr. Chouet, Syndic at Geneva,

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ing, that there is a work ascribed to Servetus, called *Thesaurus Animæ, seu Thesaurus Animæ Christianæ*, alias *Desiderius Peregrinus*, printed in Spanish, in Latin, in Flemish, and other languages; Mr. d'Alwoerden contends, that it does not come from Servetus (cc). The

Geneva, to the late Mr. la Clerc, dated the 25th of March, 1690, which was communicated to me. “ Lately as I was turning
 “ over our registers, there fell into my hands,
 “ the trial of one called Michelle Chauderon,
 “ who was hanged in 1652, for the crime of
 “ witchcraft; which put me in mind, that
 “ in one of your letters, Sir, some time
 “ ago, you mentioned this crime, and desired
 “ (if I rightly remember,) I would examine
 “ it more particularly. I remember likewise,
 “ that I had begun a small collection about
 “ this affair.—But other occupations have
 “ prevented my continuing this work. Hav-
 “ ing stopt there, I can’t however but ac-
 “ quaint you with what I have collected by
 “ the reading of this trial I have mentioned.
 “ It appears to me, that this woman was a
 “ very good sort of woman, extremely pious,
 “ as much as these kind of people without
 “ learning can be; all her crime was, she
 “ was very credulous, and very timorous;
 “ when they put her in prison, she did not
 “ believe she was a witch, but upon certain
 “ accu-

(cc). The author of the notes (cc) Hist. Servetus. added to the new edition of the *History of Geneva*, by Spon, printed in 1730, pretends that the sentiments of Servetus were not so detestable as it was believed,

“accusations the most ridiculous in the
 “world, she was visited by the Doctors and
 “Surgeons, who declared, they found a
 “mark upon her lip which was not natural:
 “they were not however all of the same
 “mind; and besides, they talked of it in a
 “very doubtful manner; whereupon it was
 “positively affirmed, that she was a witch,
 “and that she had the Devil’s mark. They
 “put her to the question: she poor credulous
 “and timorous creature! was in great per-
 “plexity; she was persuaded from her in-
 “fancy, that this mark is only to be found
 “upon witches; and that her Judges, who
 “affirmed she had it, could not lye, being
 “infallible: she begun to believe, that what
 “they told her might be very true; and
 “recollecting all the occasions that had
 “frightened her, she confessed, That one
 “day, going to the country alone, she saw a
 “shadow which terrified her much,” (I don’t
 doubt but this was her own shadow,)
 “which kissed her mouth, and that this was
 “the Devil, to whom she gave herself up.
 “This confession making a noise in the city,
 “two of the lower dregs of the people, her
 “neighbours, had each a sick child, and
 P “accused

(dd) ub.
supr. p.
151.

lieved, if they are judged by his answers; but Mr. d'Artigny has very well observed, (dd) that we ought to judge of his sentiments rather by his writings, than by his personal answers; and the extracts

“accused her as the cause thereof: She
“owned that sometimes she had given them
“apples; and upon this she was condemned,
“as I have already said: This is the last
“execution of this nature in our city, and I
“hope there shall never be any such like
“again.” Judges who were capable of
condemning a poor creature upon such
proofs, would certainly have had no mercy
upon such a heretick as Servetus. How many
vexations have the Presbyterians suffered in
England, under the reigns of James I.
Charles I. and Charles II? I find, under the
reign of the first, Neal, Bishop of Winchester,
caused to be hanged, one Wightman, a
dogmatizer of that time; and that King,
Bishop of London, condemned one Legat to
be burnt for heresy; who was executed in
(178) Bi. Smithfield (178). Let us conclude, by an
Brit. n. 4. example still more recent: Peter Gunter of
p. 70. Prussia, a farrier to trade, was beheaded at
Lubeck, in the month of October, in the
year 1687, by the consent of two univer-
sities, because he would not own the Divi-
nity of Jesus Christ. That of Kiel, was, that a
blasphemer ought to be punished with death;
but that it was necessary, first to examine if

Gunter

extracts which we have given of his book will enable us to decide the question. The author of the notes assures us, that this physician denied that he had compared the Trinity to Cerberus: If it is

so, Günter was guilty of this crime. The university of Wittemberg decided, that he was attainted and convicted of blasphemy (179). In recollecting all that we have said, and all the facts that we have alledged, it appears to me, that every unprejudiced person will agree, that there is no reason to impute it as a crime in Calvin, because he thought, as all the world thought in his time, and as a great many people have thought since. There is nothing with which he can be reproached, except it could be proved, that he acted from criminal motives; and even in that case, it would be a question to know whether he did not take the advantage of the rigour of these laws, which he believed were just. To conclude; I shall add two authorities furnished me by Mr. Drelincourt (180). Meisnerus, a Lutheran Divine, in a Book intituled, *Philosophia Sobria*, part. 1. quest. 4. says, That none amongst them could so much as contend that Servetus did not deserve death; not only for heresy, but likewise for raising a sedition, which the (181) or for a notorious blasphemy; such as that of Servetus calling the Trinity a Cerberus with three heads. Nicolas Hemmingius, a Danish Divine, and Professor at Copenhagen, in

(179) Bi. Hist. Phil. Theol. Brom cl. 1. Fasc. 5. 741. in notis.

(180) De. fin. de Calv. p. 286.

(181) Servetus did not raise any sedition, which the good Meisnerus wishes above all things,

so, he denied the most evident facts; since this is found not only in his letter to Abel Pepin, but likewise in a great many places of his book, which I have read with my own eyes.

in his book, intituled, *Syntagm. Inst. Cbr.* cap. i. prop. 38. "We condemn," says he, "this impious and wicked, lewd fellow, Michael Servetus, who outrageously tramping upon the holy Fathers, had the impudence to bring back the condemned heresies of Arius, and other fanaticks, who having been justly accused by John Calvin, they of Geneva inflicted the punishment upon him he deserved."

6 MA 50

F I N I S.

